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**The Identical Synthronos Trinity:
Representation, Ritual and Power in the Spanish Americas**

by

Ann Elizabeth Storey

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

1997

Approved by

Joanne Snow-Smith
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Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

**The Identical Synthronos Trinity:
Representation, Ritual and Power in the Spanish Americas**

by Ann Elizabeth Storey

**Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee
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This dissertation examines the origin and meaning of the Trinity represented as three enthroned (synthronos), identical men. Although banned by the Vatican in 1623 and 1745, it was used in the Spanish Americas until the twentieth century. This study shows that the identical, synthronos Trinity was not derived from the "Old Testament" Trinity, which, until now, has been most often posited as its source. Instead, its visual prototype was the enthronement of Roman emperors commonly represented on coins distributed throughout the Roman Empire and widely available in Medieval Europe. The function of the identical, synthronos Trinity during the Middle Ages was to combat heresies against the faith or in to be used in polemics directed against Muslims, Jews and other outsiders of the Roman Catholic Church. It would eventually do the same with Native Americans. The motif's textual source was Psalm 109 and its New Testament derivations, the credo and Gloria in Excelsius Deo. It expressed in word and imagery Augustine's mystical "City of God" ruled over by the Trinity, a Christian utopian paradise believed by the conquistadors and friars to have been found in the Americas. Having the attributes of secular and ecclesiastical power, the synthronos Trinity connoted triumphal victory and world sovereignty.

This study also investigates the affiliation of the synthronos Trinity with the Roman Imperial Entry (adventus)

and enthronement rituals, which were adapted and used to sustain the theocracy in Medieval Europe. These ceremonies were also performed throughout the Americas after conquest. Because of the European desire to conquer and missionize Native peoples and the need for images to assist in this activity, these rituals and the image of the identical, synthronos Trinity were considered particularly appropriate for the Americas. The ultimate purpose of the image was didactic; it taught Native Americans about the scriptures, the credo and Gloria, and the dogma of the Catholic church.

The goal of this study is to establish a more inclusive interpretation of the political, spiritual and social context of the Spanish conquest by understanding aspects of the theater of power expressed through the adventus ceremony and the synthronos Trinity.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deep appreciation to my dissertation supervisor, Professor Joanne Snow-Smith, for her help and encouragement throughout my graduate career at the University of Washington. Supporting me in my decision to undertake a cross-cultural analysis between Europe and the Americas, her sanction has allowed me to become absorbed in a fascinating area of inquiry. I would also like to thank both Joanne Snow-Smith and Patricia Failing for their close reading of the text, for assistance in theoretical considerations, and for supplying me with helpful publications. Constantine Christofides, a supportive and insightful member of my dissertation, thesis and general examination committees, has also been sympathetic to my desire to do cross-cultural analysis. Cynthia Steele, as graduate faculty representative, brought her considerable expertise of Latin American culture to bear upon my study in her Latin American Culture course and in my research.

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved husband, whose encouragement and support made the process more enjoyable and meaningful.

Chapter I: Introduction

Ask of me, and I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.¹

Christopher Columbus used scripture as both prophecy and authority in support of his conquest and colonization activity in the Americas, such as his use of Psalm 2 in his Libro de las profecías. Justified by scripture, conquistadors and missionaries believed that they had, not only the right, but also the responsibility to conquer the "heathens" of the Americas.² This supposition is the cornerstone to understanding the conjunction between representation, ritual and power in the Spanish Americas expressed through a very prevalent, yet misunderstood, example of Spanish colonial imagery, still visible in the churches and museum collections of Viceregal New Spain and Peru.³ (Fig. 1, map) The Trinity as three enthroned (synthronos) identical men was depicted throughout the Spanish Americas even after it had fallen out of favor in Europe. (Fig. 2) This imagery had been proscribed by Pope Benedict XIV in 1745, although depicting the Holy

¹ Delno C. West and August Kling, translators and commentary, The Libro de las profecías of Christopher Columbus, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991), p. 113.

² Edwin E. Sylvest, Jr., Motifs of Franciscan Mission Theory in Sixteenth Century New Spain Province of the Holy Gospel, (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1975), p. 7.

³ Both New Spain and Peru were officially Vice-Royalties, rather than colonies of the Spanish empire. These terms, however, are generally used interchangeably.

Spirit in human form had previously been condemned by Pope Urban VIII in 1623.⁴ For reasons of decorum, the Counter-Reformation desire to regularize imagery, and the risk of the heresy of tritheism, the preferred representation of the Trinity depicted the Father as the Ancient of Days, Christ at the time of his baptism, and the Holy Spirit as a dove.⁵

The identical synthronos form, on the other hand, is conspicuous in all of the traditional religious arts of the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, in sculpture as well as painting, in popular art as well as church altarpieces.⁶ The meaning of this imagery have never been appropriately analyzed, since iconographic interpretation has usually overlooked the political and social context in

⁴ The section reads, "Non est permittenda imago Spiritus Sancti sub figura hominis cum id numquam obtinuerit in Ecclesia Catholica. In epist. ad Episcopum Augustanum, sicut nec imago trium hominum aequalium ad repraesentandam SS Trinitatem." See Giovanni Dominico Mansi, Epitome Doctrinae Moralis et Canonicae ex Constitutionibus, Aliisque Operibus Felicis Recordationis Benedict XIV, Rome, (1767), p. 17.

⁵ For tritheism, see F.L. Cross (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, (London, 1957).

⁶ Donna Pierce estimates that over three-quarters of the Trinitarian imagery in New Mexico is of the banned anthropomorphic type and Gloria Giffords states that almost all Mexican retablos on tin depicting the Trinity do the same. See Donna Pierce, "The Holy Trinity in the Art of Rafael Aragon: An Iconographic Study," New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts, volume 3 (1978), pp. 29-33 and Gloria Giffords, Mexican Folk Retablos, Masterpieces on Tin, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974). Giffords calls this a "Byzantine" type. (p. 40)

which colonial imagery developed.⁶

From my research it appears that the synthronos Trinity was developed in Medieval Europe to combat heresies against the faith or was used in polemics directed against Muslims and Jews and other outsiders of the Roman Catholic Church. Because of the impetus to convert native peoples, the image was also considered appropriate for the Americas. Furthermore, since many Spanish friars and conquistadors regarded the Native Americans as "Arabs" and called their temples "mosques" or considered them to be the lost tribes of Israel, they logically used imagery thought appropriate to express the orthodox position on the Trinity against these faiths.⁷

Affiliated with the Roman Imperial Royal Entry (adventus) and enthronement rituals, the motif implied both triumphal victory and world sovereignty. As a result of these relationships, the image of the synthronos Trinity can be read as a quasi-legal figurative document prophesying and justifying the conquest and forcible

⁶ The standard sources are listed below in Review of the Literature, Chapter I.

⁷ See Luis Weckmann, The Medieval Heritage of Mexico, translated by Frances M. López-Morillas, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), p. 182. The Hieronymite friars referred to the natives of Hispaniola as "these Moors," while Cortes consistently speaks of "mosques" in referring to native temples. Also see John L. Phelan, The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writing of Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525-1604), (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), pp. 24-5.

conversion of the Americas. In this capacity it functioned as a kind of lauratron, a symbol of divine presence which allowed the action of conquest and conversion to take place.⁹ Both image and ritual are analyzed in this study in order to understand the theocratic mechanisms of the Age of Discovery.

An iconographic evaluation shows that there are three key features in the European and American synthronos imagery which will be critical to its interpretation: 1) the enthronement itself, with an emphasis on the correct ceremonial placement of Christ to the right of the Father and the Holy Spirit to the left; 2) imperial and papal signifiers such as throne, crown, heavenly realm, scepter, papal tiara, triangular halo and globe; and 3) the identicality of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, except for their attributes. These features developed in conjunction with the text of Psalm 109 and its New Testament derivations, the credo⁹ and the Gloria in Excelsius Deo.¹⁰

Psalm 109 is regarded by Jews and Christians as a

⁹ In Europe this function was taken over from the Roman emperors, such as Constantine. See Marilyn Stokstad, Medieval Art, (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), p. 19.

⁹ See Appendix A for the full text of the credo.

¹⁰ See Appendix B for the full text of the "Gloria in Excelsius Deo." Kantorowicz briefly mentions that the combination of Psalm 109 illustrations with those of the Gloria and the Creed, which use the imagery of that psalm begin with the Quinity of Winchester. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," The Art Bulletin, volume 29, (1947), p. 80.

revelation of the triumph of the people of Yahweh over enemies of the faith, since it begins "An oracle of the Lord."¹¹ This interpretation is specifically relevant to the Americas, because the imagery and scriptural sources were seen as justifying the belief that the triumph over and conversion of the native peoples were foretold in the Old Testament.¹² The divine kingship which Psalm 109 signified rationalized the unbroken concentration of spiritual and political power in the hands of the awaited Messiah--first King David and Christ, later the Carolingian, French, and Spanish monarchs, the Italian Renaissance rulers and popes, and finally the conquistadors and friars who came to the Americas. The same rites, scriptural sources, and imagery were used in the post-conquest Americas which had underpinned the Medieval theocracy in Europe.

These conquistadors and friars, such as Christopher Columbus; Hernán Cortés, Bernardino de Sahagún and Gerónimo de Mendieta of Mexico; and Juan de Oñate and General de Vargas of New Mexico, not only interpreted the discovery and conquest within the context of the Christian scriptures, but also performed ancient rituals using the form and language of Psalm 109 which parallel the enthronement and reception ceremonies that had occurred in

¹¹ See Appendix C for full text of Psalm 109.

¹² See Phelan, pp. 12-13.

Medieval Europe and which had a foundation in ancient Egypt, Israel and the Roman Empire.

Psalm 109 has unusual prominence and importance within the Christian church, in fact, this is the most frequently referred to Old Testament text within the New Testament.¹³ The first verse, "My Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool," was quoted twice by Christ himself as proof that he was divine.¹⁴ The passage was believed by Medieval interpreters to lend support to the fiercely contested issue of the divinity and equality of both second and third Persons of the Trinity. Under the impetus of Psalm 109, the identical Trinity would be developed which made absolutely clear the equal nature and divinity of each member of the Triune God.

Psalm 109 and its New Testament derivations also influenced Augustine's conception of a mystical "City of God." This Christian utopian paradise ruled over by the Trinity was believed to have been found in the Americas. The heavenly paradise is also the Church Triumphant, represented on earth by the body of the Church itself and

¹³ It is referred to in the following passages: Matt. 22:44; 26:64; Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69; Acts 2:33-36; 7:55; Rom. 8:34; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1; Heb. 1:3, 12:2; 8:1; 10:12-13; 1 Cor. 15:25-6; 1 Peter 3:22.

¹⁴ George Henderson, Studies in English Bible Illustration, volume 1, (London: The Pindar Press, 1985), p. 249.

illustrated through the church altarpiece. This was explained by Hugh of Saint-Victor, considered one of the great theologians of the church, and called "the second Augustine."¹⁵

The programs of the retablo mayor¹⁶ (main altarpiece) and retablo façade¹⁷ (façade program) depicted a vision of the community of apostles, saints and martyrs ruled over by either the Trinity or God the Father, wearing a triangular nimbus or a papal tiara. These attributes also indicated the Triune Deity and the power of the universal church.¹⁸ The triple crown, its distinctive form symbolizing the Trinity, was worn by the Pope only when he was speaking ex

¹⁵ D. Van Den Eynde, "Hugh of Saint-Victor," NCE, volume 7, p. 194-5. Hugh of Saint-Victor, pp. 198-205, found in Gulielmus Durandis, The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments, (London, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1973, reprint from the edition of 1843). (Durandis was Bishop of Mende, ca. 1237-96.)

¹⁶ Retablo, reredos and retable all mean altarpiece and derive from the Latin retro-tablum (behind the table), literally a structure for images behind the altar table. The retablo is therefore an assemblage of two- and three-dimensional works within a large architectural framework. Retablo has also come to mean a smaller and simpler two-dimensional panel painting. Mayor means the principle altarpiece. Colateral is also a term used to refer to an altarpiece.

¹⁷ See Donna Pierce, "New Spain," in Cambios: The Spirit of Transformation in Spanish Colonial Art, (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press and Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1992), p. 80.

¹⁸ Since the image of God the Father wearing a papal tiara was considered to denote the Trinity and the universal church these were synonymous representations. James Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art, (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), pp. 13-14.

cathedra ("from the throne") or in solemn procession.¹⁹ Considered to be infallible when he was enthroned and speaking ex cathedra, the Pope represented orthodoxy as opposed to heterodoxy. The synthronos of the Trinity is related to this belief in the Roman Catholic Church's infallibility, orthodoxy and universal sovereignty, since it exemplifies the throne of the Pope upon which he speaks ex cathedra. This concept is made explicit in the structure and decoration of cathedral architecture itself. Beneath mosaics, frescoes or altarpieces showing God or the Trinity enthroned, the bishop sat on his elevated seat, cathedra, flanked by the clergy who sat on their synthronon, a semicircular bench.

Because of the enormous impetus for conversion, sixteenth-century colonial images were to be primarily didactic: they were used as a visual catechism by the missionizing friars.²⁰ Continuing with this intent during the Baroque period, painting, sculpture and architecture also became more theatrical and illusionistic in order to reach out and pull the faithful into the church. While in Europe the climax of such artistic programs often occurred in domes, in Mexico the zenith was reached in the retablo

¹⁹ J.C.J. Metford, Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983), p. 244.

²⁰ See Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, Pintura y Escultura del Renacimiento en México, (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1979), p. 284.

mayor. Illuminated by sunlight from the dome and carefully positioned windows, the impression of the iconography and decorative program of the retablo was of a glimpse of heaven on earth.²¹ These retablos represented a celestial vision, presided over by the Trinity.

Devotion to the Triune Deity was strong among the fifteenth-century Spiritual Franciscans, who adopted the three-age configuration of history based on the Trinity which had been developed by the Calabrian Abbot Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202).²² Franciscan Spiritualist beliefs were to play a vital role in the religious conquest of Mexico. Christopher Columbus himself relied upon the teachings of Joachim and had a special reverence for the Trinity, undertaking all of his voyages in their name. The Age of Discovery which had just been initiated by Columbus designated the Americas to be the prophesied Joachite terrestrial paradise, while the perfect human predicted by this utopian conception was perceived in the personality of the native peoples.²³ Since Columbus, and many others

²¹ Donna Pierce, Cambios: The Spirit of Transformation in Spanish Colonial Art, p. 80

²² West and Kling, p. 59. For Joachim of Fiore see Marjorie Reeves, Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future, (London: SPCK, 1976).

²³ Phelan, p. 56. Also see Pierce, Cambios: The Spirit of Transformation in Spanish Colonial Art, pp. 74-5; and "The Mission: Evangelical Utopianism in the New World (1523-1600) Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990), pp. 243-49.

within this political and religious milieu, concluded that the voyages of discovery were of equal importance with the creation of the universe and the birth and passion of Christ,²⁴ it was widely believed that they heralded Joachim's third and final age of world history.

The language of the requieremento itself, which was the legal document developed in Spain to be read to the Native Americans to signify conquest, reinforces this devotion to the Trinity, since it undertakes this action in their name.²⁵ Upon entering New Mexico in 1598, General Juan de Oñate proclaimed:

In the name of the most Holy Trinity and of the individual eternal unity, Deity, and majesty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons and one single being and one single true God, who with his eternal will, omnipotent power, and infinite wisdom rules, governs, and disposes....²⁶

The purpose of this lengthy declaration was to announce military possession three times over, so that both form and language of the proclamation in itself symbolized the three persons of the Trinity. Witnessed by Juan Pérez de Donís, notary of his majesty, and the missionary friars

²⁴ West and Kling, p. 8.

²⁵ It was drawn up by court theologian and adviser Juan López de Palacios Rubios and was used extensively in 'New World' conquest. See Sylvest, p. 17.

²⁶ Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, Historia de la Nueva Mexico, 1610, translated and edited by Miguel Encinias, Afred Rodríguez and Joseph P. Sánchez, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), pp. 131-2. This source has the full text of the requieremento.

present, possession was taken of northern New Spain; the same ceremony was performed by other conquistadors and officials throughout the Spanish Americas. This critical document is a designation of the Church Triumphant in the Americas, ruled over by the Trinity, and representing in contemporary legal terms the image of the synthronos Trinity which would dominate the altarpieces and façades of many early churches in New Spain.

The key to understanding the meaning and long use of this motif in the Spanish Americas is its relationship to the European Christian desire for hegemony and orthodoxy in the "New World." This study will analyze the reasons for the image's protracted life, focusing on the following themes: 1) the message of world sovereignty which this type of Trinity signified was deemed to be of renewed relevance after the conquest and during the settlement of the Americas, 2) the image of identity helped to conserve orthodox belief in the Triune Deity and functioned as a didactic tool for missionaries teaching this difficult concept, 3) this form is more distinct from Native American sacred forms than the image of the Holy Spirit represented as a dove, and would not encourage transference from Christian to pre-conquest faiths.

Formerly ignored because it was deemed to be a marginal area of study, colonial culture is now being recognized as a complex, hybridized field in which the

mechanisms of representation and power can most profitably be investigated.²⁷ Thus its marginal nature is precisely what constitutes its greatest interest. Furthermore, since the sixteenth century was the source for patterns of imagery which persisted during the entire colonial period, the paradigms which were established in both iconography and ceremony are vital to begin understand the next three centuries of development.²⁸ Thus a study of the synthronos Trinity establishes a more inclusive interpretation of the political, spiritual and social context of the Spanish conquest of the Americas.²⁹

Summary of Each Chapter

Chapter One gives a summary of the relevant issues and a review of the literature. It explains the significance of this research to understanding this particular image of the

²⁷ See Claire Farago (ed.), Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450-1650, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

²⁸ Robert Ricard, The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 3.

²⁹ In analysis of European Trinitarian iconography, Judith Kidd and Claire C. Kelly analyze contextually; however, they are working with different Trinitarian issues. See Judith A. Kidd, "The Quinity of Winchester Reconsidered," Studies in Iconography, volume 7-8 (1982-82), pp. 21-33, and Claire C. Kelly, The Representation of the Trinity According to the Filioque Doctrine, (University of Iowa: Dissertation), 1986.

Trinity which was first created in Medieval Europe and then became so prominent in the Americas. It will also examine why the imagery in question could not have been derived in a direct line from the so-called "Old Testament" Trinity, which, until this time, has been considered the only possible source of the imagery in Europe or the Americas.

Chapter Two begins with a brief synopsis of the doctrine of the Trinity and related political and theological conflicts which threatened belief in its existence from the Early Christian period through the time of Charlemagne, ca. 800. The study will then analyze two relevant categories of Trinitarian imagery, the creator mundi and synthronos types, developed from Roman Imperial and Early Christian iconography.

Chapter Three analyzes the text of Psalm 109 in detail, as well as studying the development of the synthronos Trinity imagery in Europe which was used to illustrate this Psalm. It will also discuss heresies and threats to the faith which were rebutted through the language of the Old Testament source.

Chapter Four discusses the pivotal Medieval French synthronos Trinity, illustrated in Matfré Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor. The spiritual and political basis for establishing Augustine's "City of God" in Medieval Europe is analyzed in terms of Trinitarian imagery.

Chapter Five examines the Royal Entry ceremony in

order to ascertain the relationship between Psalm 109, this ritual, and the synthronos Trinity. The influence of this imagery on religious drama in Europe and the Americas is also included. The original correlation between Psalm, ceremony, and imagery became encoded in this esoteric type of Trinity, and continued to inform all subsequent uses, including its colonial manifestations. All three components were part of a theological matrix in Catholic thought and ritual which was transplanted to the Americas.

In Chapter Six the geographical arena moves back and forth across the Atlantic to examine the apocalyptic and utopian ideas which affected Europe, especially in Renaissance Italy and Spain, circa 1500; these ideas were transferred to the Americas. This chapter includes an analysis of the Book of Prophecies of Christopher Columbus as well as his exploitation of the Psalms to justify and explain the "New World" conquests which he had set in motion. It also incorporates analyses by sixteenth-century Mexican chroniclers and missionaries. The use of the adventus ritual to welcome the triumphant Columbus back to Spain as well as its enactment by the conqueror of Mexico, Hernán Cortés, and by conquistadors in Peru and New Mexico, shows the continuation of the ancient patterns. A detailed iconographic analysis of key colonial examples follows.

Chapter Seven is an analysis of the synthronos Trinity crowning the Virgin, which became a common seventeenth and

eighteenth-century version of this imagery. Often allied with the Woman of the Apocalypse depiction, it was used to illustrate the contested doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and was promoted by the Franciscans, champions of this cause. In this context, the imagery again refers to conquest over enemies of the faith, since the Virgin's defeat of sin was personified by the vanquishing of Lucifer himself. Furthermore, the relationship with Psalm 109, the adventus ceremony and Roman Imperial iconography continues.

Chapter Eight concludes this analysis by summarizing the main themes and issues, including an appraisal of why the synthronos Trinity imagery persisted so long in the Americas in spite of the ban by the Vatican.

Review of the Literature

Trinitarian iconography in Europe has been analyzed by Alfred Hackel, Die Trinität in der Kunst, published in 1931, and Wolfgang Braunfels, Die Heilige Dreifaltigkeit, 1954. Spanish Trinitarian iconography has been surveyed by German de Pamplona in Iconografía de la Santísima Trinidad en el Arte Medieval Español.³⁰ Since these texts are

³⁰ Alfred Hackel, Die Trinität in der Kunst, (Berlin: Verlag Reuther & Reichard, 1931) and Wolfgang Braunfels, Die Heilige Dreifaltigkeit, (Dusseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann), 1954. Also see German de Pamplona, Iconografía de la Santísima Trinidad en el Arte Medieval Español, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Diego Velazquez," 1970).

surveys of many types of Trinitarian models, they do not examine in detail the synthronos category of identical Trinity which I am proposing as the source for the imagery in question. Most research published to date has not made the distinction between the origins of at least three types of anthropomorphic Trinity; instead they have assumed that they all derive from one visual and textual source, the Old Testament Trinity. The standard iconographic texts, Réau, Schiller and Didron, were consulted. Réau describes the anthropomorphic Trinity as one component, "identical," of a category he calls "La Trinité Horizontale" and gives Roman and Byzantine imperial art as a source, especially coinage.³¹ None of these references posit the same interrelationship between text, imagery and imperial ceremony which I have ascertained is a key to understanding this enigmatic form, although Schiller has important information about the association of the Drama of the Virtues with the anthropomorphic Trinity.³² Ernst Kantorowicz's articles and book were also valuable as a starting point in an iconographic study of the synthronos identical Trinity; like Réau he also mentions Roman coinage as a likely source.

³¹ Louis Réau, Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien, volume 3, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), p. 22.

³² Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, translated by Janet Seligman, volume 1, (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1971), p. 9.

Since I dispute the "Old Testament" Trinity derivation for the synthronos Trinity and have developed a new interpretation, the most useful texts for my study are the primary source documents. In Europe the single most important document is the Book of Psalms, while the major individual author is Augustine; his City of God (De Civitate Dei) and Exposition on the Book of Psalms (Enarrationes in Psalmos) are critical. Augustine's City of God not only has specific references to the Psalms and to the Trinity which helped to influence the imagery in question, but he conceived of a social and political structure, the ideal city, which the earliest explorers and missionaries attempted to realize in the Americas. I am positing that this ideal city in the Americas was often represented as ruled over by the Trinity, which depicts the Church Triumphant in the "New World." The second half of this study examines the documents produced by these latter-day Augustinians in the Americas. Columbus's Book of Prophecies and the writings of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Bernardino de Sahagún and Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá are essential in interpreting the theological and political context of the conquest. These documents indicate that the "Old World" was Augustine's "City of Man," and the "New World" is understood to be that theologian's "City of God," since the consequence of corrupting tradition was absent-- the "angelic" nature believed to be possessed by the

American Indians allowed the possibility of a more perfect realization of Christianity.³³

Augustine's On the Trinity (De Trinitate), 400-16, is relied upon in Matfré Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor, a late thirteenth-century manuscript with a key illustration of Psalm 109. It was written in Béziers, the site of the thirteenth-century massacre of 60,000 Cathars. The text which accompanies this miniature confirms the polemical nature of this treatise, containing tracts against not only the Jews, Muslims, and Arians but also a critique of orthodox troubadour poetry. This example is pivotal in my analysis since it appears to have been instrumental in disseminating this esoteric motif throughout Spain and France.

While one part of this analysis relies upon texts which support my interpretation of the imagery in question, the other half concerns Medieval and colonial ritual to ascertain the inter-relationship between ritual, text, and imagery within these two contexts.

Analysis of the "Old Testament" Trinity

The synthronos Trinity has been identified as deriving from the so-called "Old Testament" Trinity often used in Early

³³ Phelan, p. 73.

Christian and Russian Orthodox art;³⁴ however, this designation ignores the complex development of two different anthropomorphic types in western Europe, which themselves have never been sufficiently analyzed.³⁵ The "Old Testament" Trinity evolved under the impetus of the three mysterious visitors who appeared to Abraham under the oak of Mamre to announce the birth of his son; the presence of three figures led to its later sanction by New Testament theologians as a prefiguration of the Trinity.³⁶ (Fig. 3) While certainly representing one category of identical Trinitarian imagery, this type of Trinity does

³⁴ Following the lead of Hackel, most scholars to date have identified this imagery as deriving from this source. For colonial New Mexican interpretations which conform to this premise see William Wroth, The Chapel of Our Lady of Talpa, (Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum, 1979), p. 60 and note #18. Also see Consuelo Maquivar, who applies widens the geographical arena to New Spain, "Las Representaciones Hereticas de la Santisima Trinidad Durante La Colonia," Quadernos de Arte Colonial, Museo de America: Ministerio de Cultura, (May 1988), pp. 121-27.

³⁵ The latest attempt is by V.A. Kolve, "The Annunciation to Christine: Authorial Empowerment in The Book of the City of Ladies," in Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, Brendan Cassidy (ed.), (Princeton, N.J.: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archeology, Princeton University, 1993), pp. 182-85.

³⁶ See Hackel pp. 35-65; André Grabar, Christian Iconography, A Study of Its Origins, (Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 114; Braunfels p. XVI-XIII. It was Ambrose and Augustine who were most prominent in identifying in these three figures a revelation of the Trinity.

not appear in Spain;³⁷ therefore, it is very unlikely that it would provide the source for the image which occurs so often in New Spain. It has, nevertheless, usually been cited as the only possible model for the synthronos by those apparently unaware of more likely prototypes.³⁸ There was no relationship between the Greek or Russian Orthodox church and the Spanish Americas during the colonial period, and since trade was so strictly regulated, there is little likelihood that the source of this imagery came from so far afield. Imports to the colonies were tightly controlled by the Spanish Crown. During most of the viceregal period all trade with the American colonies was confined to only two Spanish ports and all missals came from only one press.³⁹

Furthermore, the "Old Testament" Trinity are not typically enthroned, as are the Spanish and colonial examples; instead, the theophany at Mamre usually replicates the original vision which centers around an altar table, has Eucharistic associations, and often includes the figure of Abraham. Another prominent

³⁷ Pamplona, p. 17.

³⁸ See, for example, Wroth and Pierce for New Mexico and Giffords for Mexico. Wroth's choice of Byzantine art as a paradigm to explain the Southwest santos tradition is quite problematic. I cannot agree with him because the Byzantine tradition had no historical relationship with late Medieval or Renaissance Spain or the Spanish Americas.

³⁹ Robert L. Shalkop, Reflections of Spain, (Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum, 1968), p. 13.

difference is that the "Old Testament" theophany characteristically represent winged angels, while the Spanish and New Mexican anthropomorphic form portray the Triune God as wingless, since the Christian Deity are never winged.⁴⁰ A typical western European example is the miniature from the Psalter of Queen Ingebord, ca. 1210. (Fig. 3) The winged angels are seated around an altar table upon which bread and wine in a chalice have been placed. They look toward Abraham and his wife Sara to their left; while Abraham is advancing with the head of a sacrificial lamb in a bowl, Sara is carrying three eggs.⁴¹ The Eucharistic message is stressed.

A more common depiction in western Europe of the sacrifice of the Eucharist itself was the Throne of Grace motif, indicating that New Testament, rather than Old Testament conceptions are more relied upon for sources of images in the late Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods.⁴² In an analogous way, it is the New Testament derivation of Psalm 109 in the credo and gloria (through

⁴⁰ Braunfels illustrates nine Medieval examples of Abraham and the three angels from both western and eastern churches--eight are winged. Wolfgang Braunfels, Die Heilige Dreifaltigkeit, (Dusseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1954).

⁴¹ Braunfels, p. xx.

⁴² See Joanne Snow-Smith, "Masaccio's Fresco in Santa Maria Novella: a Symbolic Representation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice," Arte Lombarda, Rivista di Storia dell'Arte, number 84 (1988), pp. 47-59.

Matt 24:64) which would come to dominate representations in the altarpieces of the colonial Americas as a vision of heaven. While in Europe Titian's "Gloria" of 1554, commissioned by Emperor Charles V, illustrated the filioque Trinity presiding over the Paradise of the Elect, (Fig. 4) in Spain and the Americas a preferred choice, as will be discussed below, would be the identical synthronos Trinity for this concept. Both were polemical forms.

Another issue obviating an eastern source for the western synthronos Trinity was the political differentiation between the two realms. Christopher Dawson points out that the Carolingians considered the Byzantine Empire the last of the "heathen empires" and so did not emulate it as closely as has been previously assumed by scholars. Subsequent western European monarchies (except for the Ottonians) would widen this gulf. Furthermore, during the ninth century the Pope made a decisive political break with Constantinople and established a western "Holy Roman Empire" in opposition to the eastern empire.⁴³

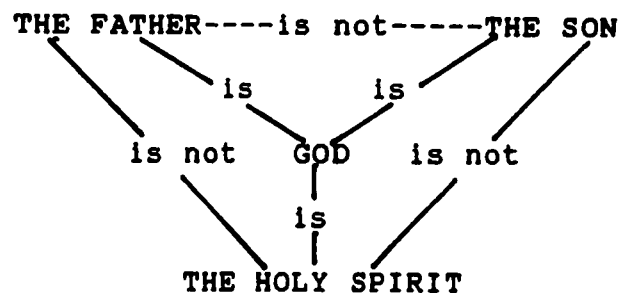
It is also important to emphasize the theological gulf which separated the eastern understanding of the Trinity from that of western Christianity, which eventually centered around a differing understanding of the generation

⁴³ Christopher Dawson, "The Coronation as Evidence of the Birth of a New Civilization," The Coronation of Charlemagne: What Did It Signify? (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1959), p. 52.

of the Third Person of the Trinity. In fact, it was to be over a dispute concerning Trinitarian doctrine that the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches finally separated.⁴⁴ The Greek Church maintained that the Holy Spirit proceeded only from the Father, whereas the Latin Church insisted that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and "from the Son" (the filioque clause). A sixteenth-century Spanish retablo in the Chapel of San Bernardo in Zaragoza sculpted by Pedro Moreto depicts the enthroned Trinity holding the diagram which illustrated the filioque clause, the ultimate dividing point between Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. (Fig. 5) While Christ and the Holy Spirit are identical in features, dress and each has a circular nimbus, God the Father in the center wears a papal tiara and has fuller hair and a longer beard. The emphasis upon the tiara is certainly deliberate, since it shows the Deity wearing the distinct symbolic headgear of the Roman pope, emphasizing the affiliation of the western church with the Triune Deity. In addition, the triple crown, as we have already seen, signifies that the Pope is speaking ex cathedra and is infallible; thus this image reinforces the orthodoxy of the

⁴⁴ The final Trinitarian battle led to the complete rift of the Eastern Orthodox from the Roman Catholic Church. This is one of the most problematic issues with identifying the source of the anthropomorphic Trinity as Byzantine and not realizing the very different nature of the Roman Catholic versus Greek Orthodox views of the Trinity.

Roman Catholic church's position about the contested doctrine. The filioque diagram illustrates that the Father and Son are equal partners in breathing forth the Holy Spirit. Called the "Arms of the Holy Trinity" it visually summarizes this doctrine:



This sculpture makes it clear that the significant point of disagreement between the western and eastern church is emphasized through the polemical use of the synthronos Trinity itself in Spain.

Another point of distinction between the western and eastern Churches concerns the differing view regarding the appropriateness of representing God the Father, and by extension the Trinity, between the Greek and Roman churches.⁴⁵ The Greek Orthodox church had a serious

⁴⁵ Another divergence concerns the feast of the Holy Trinity celebrated on the Sunday after Pentecost; it had been inaugurated by many bishops of the Frankish kingdoms during the ninth century. Before this time there had been no special feast to celebrate the Trinity. It is significant that the churches of the Byzantine rite do not observe this feast of the Trinity; instead, on the Sunday after Pentecost they celebrate the Feast of All Saints. Indeed, even Rome resisted the special devotions to the Trinity. The feast was not confirmed by the papacy until the Avignon period, at which time it was sanctioned by the French Pope John XXII.

reservation about illustrating the First Person of the Trinity, because this Deity is ineffable and transcendent. For this reason, the proliferation of Trinitarian forms and their common usage in manuscripts and altarpieces which occurred in western Europe, especially during the later Middle ages, was not a pattern which was followed in the Eastern Church. The wide gulf which separated the eastern and western churches was particularly impassable in Trinitarian issues; thus, it is very unlikely that an eastern representation for the Triune Deity could have been responsible for the development of the identical synthronos Trinity.

This does not mean, however, that there were no correspondences between Greek and western examples of this form of the Trinity. There was a similarity in portrayals which drew upon the "Drama of the Virtues" miracle play, as will be shown below. However, these indicate a common source for the identical synthronos type in Roman Imperial art (especially coinage), rather than a reliance upon the "Old Testament" Trinity.

Chapter II

Trinitarian Issues and Prototypes of Imagery in Imperial Rome and Medieval Italy

The doctrine of the Trinity is one of the most complex aspects of the Christian faith; it affirms that God is manifested in three persons, hypostases, who are distinct, equal, and eternally consubstantial.⁴⁶ Examining relevant portions of the history of Trinitarian dogma and conflict will begin the process of interpreting the development of the identical synthronos Trinitarian imagery. Difficult and subtle as a theological question in the early Church, Trinitarian issues became even more problematic since they were entwined with fundamental political struggles and campaigns against heresy during the Early Christian and Medieval periods in Europe. It is vital to understand that the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as the imagery used for representing this mystery of the faith, developed against a background of heresy and ideological differences between Christianity and other faiths.⁴⁷ These conflicts

⁴⁶ Both Tertullian and Origen used the word consubstantial, of the same substance as the Father. See R.L. Richard, "Holy Trinity," New Catholic Encyclopedia, volume 1, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967-74), p. 298.

⁴⁷ See Kenan B. Osborne, "Trinitarian Doctrine," Dictionary of the Middle Ages, volume 12, Joseph R. Strayer, (editor-in-chief), (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), p. 189. This is another reason why there is more to understanding the identical synthronos Trinity than simply ascribing all derivations to the "Old Testament" Trinity as a non-problematicized source.

were especially profound in Medieval Spain, locus for three competing faiths and ideologies--Islam, Judaism, and Christianity--as well as the place where the heretical Arian Visigoths had settled.⁴⁸

The most significant early Trinitarian heresy had been initiated by the teachings of the Alexandrian priest Arius, (d.336) whose basic premise was a disbelief in the divinity of Christ and, through his followers, a disparagement of the divinity of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁹ The union of church and state that the Emperor Constantine desired at this time was jeopardized by the emergence of opposing religious sects and heresies. The first Church Council, presided over by Constantine at Nicaea in 325, had been convened to reconcile disparate points of view and produce religious and political unity.⁵⁰ The subordination of the second and third persons of the Trinity in Arian belief was most convincingly refuted by the writings of Athanasius (d. 373), the eminent theologian of the Council of Nicaea I, who endorsed the term homoousios (of the same nature or

⁴⁸ Leander (d.600) and Isidore (d.633) of Seville were at the center of defending orthodox Trinitarian belief, supporting the traditional Augustinian interpretation. See Osborne, p. 190.

⁴⁹ See V.C. De Clercq, "Arianism," New Catholic Encyclopedia, volume 1, p. 791. Also see D.W. Johnson, "Arianism," Dictionary of the Middle Ages, pp. 453-454. A Christological basis, therefore, was integral to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity. See Osborne, p. 189.

⁵⁰ Kelly, pp. 8-13.

substance), to indicate that Christ is consubstantial with the Father.⁵¹

Arius's premises were condemned by Nicaea I, which produced the Nicene Creed as a definitive statement of belief in the Trinity and in the divinity of Christ;⁵² however, his ideas were to be influential in western Europe throughout the entire Medieval period. Indeed, Arianism became a newly revived threat to the developing Christianity of western Europe since it was the form professed by the incoming Germanic tribes, who used it as an emblem of their independence of imperial jurisdiction.⁵³ Because many issues were not resolved at Nicaea I, a second council held in Constantinople in 381 repeated homoousios and again condemned Arianism.⁵⁴ The definitive creed (Nicene and Athanasian) which came out of these two councils is still an article of faith recited during every Mass (see Appendix A). By the late fourth century the Arian heresy ceased to be a concern within the Roman Empire, but outside of it these issues remained

⁵¹ P.J. Hamell, "Trinitarian Controversy," New Catholic Encyclopedia, volume 14, pp. 292-93.

⁵² Arius and his unrepentant supporters were banished, which was the first instance of civil punishment for heresy in the young religion. See Johnson, p. 453.

⁵³ Johnson, p. 454.

⁵⁴ Emperor Constantius II supported Arianism, leading to political and religious upheaval. Between 330 and 363, at least twelve synods were convened in an attempt to resolve the issue. See Johnson, p. 453.

problematic in all the regions where the Germanic tribes had settled. Thus we see in the Council of Nicaea the first of many instances where specific belief in the nature of the Trinity was to go hand in hand with the fostering of political hegemony and religious orthodoxy.

Augustine was to be the most influential theologian to examine the Trinitarian conundrum; his understanding became definitive and has never really been superseded or substantially altered.⁵⁵ His City of God dominated the political thought of the Middle Ages, including the Carolingian period of the ninth century.⁵⁶ This theologian's authority actually intensified during the High Middle Ages when there was a revival of his thought, which stimulated a great demand for his work. Since the imprint of the social, spiritual, and political matrix of western Europe was transferred to the Americas in the sixteenth century, his authority remained vital to the polemics and imagery under consideration. In fact, the precepts expressed in The City of God dictate the spiritual and political convictions of both the conquistadors and the

⁵⁵ See Augustine's The City of God and On the Trinity.

⁵⁶ P. R. L. Brown, "Saint Augustine," in Trends in Medieval Political Thought, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 1. Furthermore, since Thomas Aquinas accorded with Augustine's interpretation of the Trinity and the Council of Trent (1543-63) recognized Thomas's Summa in its missionization activities, the Bishop of Hippo's authority in this issue remained constant throughout the colonial period.

missionaries who settled in the Americas, remaining authoritative throughout the colonial period. One of the most explicit examples of this later influence can be found within the writing of the Spanish concepcionista nun Mother María de Jesús de Agreda, author of The Mystical City of God, whose thought was of immense importance to the Franciscan Alonso de Benavides, the custos (chief ecclesiastical officer) of New Mexico during the time of settlement and missionization in the 1630s.⁸⁷ Indeed, since the time of Bonaventure the Franciscans had been staunch disciples of Augustine.⁸⁸

Augustine viewed the Trinity to be working throughout creation, including, by implication, the Old Testament, stating in the City of God, "...the whole Trinity is revealed to us in the creation."⁸⁹ This helps to explain

⁸⁷ See The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630, translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Horn and Wallace, 1916.)

⁸⁸ John Edward Sullivan, The Image of God: The Doctrine of St. Augustine and its Influence, (Dubuque, Iowa: The Priory Press, 1963), p. 214.

⁸⁹ Augustine, The City of God, translated by Marcus Dods, introduction by Thomas Merton, (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), Book XI, p. 369. The New Testament, in the gospels of Matthew and John, does have specific references which theologians used to adduce the existence of the Trinity. The best example is the Baptism of Christ which has been influential in Trinitarian iconography not discussed in this paper, typically showing Christ with the Holy Spirit depicted as a dove and the Father symbolically as a hand emerging from clouds, or as the Ancient of Days.

why the creator mundi imagery developed.⁶⁰

Creator mundi Trinity:

The creator mundi and synthronos examples of anthropomorphic Trinity are more common in western Europe during the Romanesque and Gothic periods than the Old Testament Trinity and thus are of more relevance to this study. Both forms have Biblical sources and were the subject of theological exegesis. The categories tended to overlap, especially in the fifteenth century, since the creation became closely association with the plan for Salvation, expressed by Pope Gregory the Great:

Primo die, quo Trinitas
Beata mundum condidit,
Vel quo resurgens Conditor
Nos morte victa liberat.⁶¹

They also tended to intersect because of the relationship of both to the Roman adventus ceremony, as will be shown below.

The earliest Trinitarian representation that

⁶⁰ For the creator mundi type and its sources see Johannes Zahlten, Creatio mundi: Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter, (Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1979). Also see Adelheid Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," Journal of the Warburg Institute, volume 2 number 1, (July 1938), pp. 42-53.

⁶¹ Quoted in Heimann, p. 42. This was quite different from the Greek Orthodox conception. See Schiller, p. 10.

survives is of the creator mundi type and is found on the so-called "Dogmatic Sarcophagus," of the middle fourth-century in Early Christian Italy.⁶² (Figs. 6 and 7) This important example was found in the Church of San Paolo fuori le Mura; it contains a typological illustration of Old and New Testament scenes arranged on two registers.⁶³ On the far left in the upper register the identical Trinity are shown creating Eve from the side of a prone Adam (Gen. 2:21-22).⁶⁴ While the centrally placed Deity is enthroned and making a gesture of benediction toward Eve, the Deity on the right has his hand resting on Eve's head as he turns to look at the Deity to the left of the throne. The Magi approach the Holy Family with gifts just below the creation scene; being three in number they function as an numerical analogy with the Triune Deity, as does the Holy Family. There is another echo of this numerical symbolism in the three stars to which the Magi points which divide the two registers and is located just below the seated Deity.

⁶² Although disputed by some authors, it is generally accepted as a representation of the Trinity. Heimann summarizes the pros and cons and gives a bibliography. See Grabar, Verdier in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, and Pamplona, all of whom accept this as a Trinity. See NCE, p. 298, figure 1 caption for "earliest-known Trinity" identification, P. Mulhern.

⁶³ 'Typological' means that events in the New Testament were proved by their analogous relationship to events in the Old.

⁶⁴ Heimann, pp. 42-53. Soon afterward symbolic Trinitarian iconography was developed in the form of the empty throne, book, and dove. See Grabar, p. 112.

Classical prototypes for the creator god exist which show Prometheus in an comparable position to that of the Deity who rests his hand on Eve's head.⁶⁵ There are also classical sources for the arrangement of a seated man between two standing ones. It was natural for an artist trained in this tradition to adapt these standard forms to a Christian sarcophagus; however, Heimann believes that this relationship to the pagan heritage will also account for the fact that this imagery was not used again until the twelfth century--the parallels must have been too apparent.⁶⁶

Creator mundi imagery took as its basis a passage from the first chapter of Genesis, when God on the sixth day of the Creation states, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." (Gen. 1:26) The "Dogmatic Sarcophagus" imagery seems to have anticipated Augustine's interpretation of the entire Trinity participating in creation. Two other relevant passages are: "Behold the man is become as one of Us" (Gen. 3:22) and, "Let Us go down, and there confound their language." (Gen. 6:7) The use of the plural voice in this context influenced theologians who interpreted the text to mean that the creation was the work of the entire Trinity and not solely of the Father. This understanding runs through the theology of the Middle

⁶⁵ See Heimann, p. 44.

⁶⁶ Heimann, p. 44.

Ages, found in Ambrose, Bede, Abelard, Aquinas, and Master Eckhardt, among others.⁶⁷

An example from the early twelfth century can be found in the Walter Bible created in the monastery of Michelbeuren, Austria, which represents Genesis through six miniatures; five of them include the Triune Deity. (Fig. 8)

The Meditations on the Life of Christ, attributed to Saint Bonaventure, begins with a reflection on the Trinity as responsible for the Incarnation, "For you must know that the exalted labor of the Incarnation belonged to the whole Trinity, though only the person of the Son was incarnated..."⁶⁸ The 1525 edition of Nicholas Love's translation of the Meditations contains a woodcut illustration of the identical enthroned Trinity.⁶⁹

Furthermore, if man were created in the likeness of the Trinity, it was logical to conclude that the reverse was true; therefore, the Triune Deity could be illustrated as an image of three men with identical features.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Heimann, p. 42.

⁶⁸ Once attributed to St. Bonaventure, it is now believed to have been written (c. 1300) by a Franciscan, Giovanni de Caulibus. Hall, pp. 213-14.

⁶⁹ Kolve, note #58, p. 184.

⁷⁰ An important transitional example in seventeenth-century Spain was used and justified by the painter Fray Juan Ricci in a treatise on art entitled, Tratado de la Pintura Sabia. He not only provided examples of both creator mundi and synthronos (and only these types), he actually combined these two in many of his examples. See Elías Tormo y Monsó, La vida y la obra de Fray Juan Ricci,

Augustine confirms this, writing that God made man in his own image, "And we indeed recognize in ourselves the image of God, that is, of the supreme Trinity..."⁷¹

Synthronos Trinity

The second relevant type of anthropomorphic Trinity is synthronos, or the Triune Deity enthroned together. Visual sources consist of three frontally arranged Roman emperors or gods which were very commonly found on coins, gold medallions, triumphal arches, illuminated manuscripts and commemorative metalworks.⁷² A medallion struck in A.D. 338 represents Constans, Constantine II and Constantius II enthroned and identical except for the liturgical dress worn by Constantine II, who is in the center of the triad. Constans and Constantius II, on the other hand, both wear consular dress.⁷³ (Fig. 9a)

Coins were an important and ubiquitous means of

(Madrid: Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, 1930), plate 1, CXLVII-IX, CLI-II, and p. 51.

⁷¹ Augustine, City of God, Book XI, p. 370. For an examination of the thought of Augustine as it relates to the image of the Trinity in man, see Sullivan, part one.

⁷² Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," pp. 77-8.

⁷³ Richard Brilliant, Gesture and Rank in Roman Art: The Use of Gesture to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage, memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 14, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 206-7.

iconographic transmission, since they were small, portable, and had been widely distributed over the Roman Empire. They played a significant role in the transmission of imperial prototypes to Christianity. In fact, I believe that coins from Imperial Rome were the ultimate prototype in the imagery in question, as will be discussed below.

Another example is the medallion of Antonius Pius with Capitoline triad, created during the second century. (Fig. 9b) Enthroned, crowned with laurel wreaths and holding scepters, they present a majestic appearance on a tiny scale.

On the bronze coin of Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea of the third century, the reverse depicts Severus enthroned on a starry globe. He holds the circle of the year, from which emerge small personifications of the four seasons. Felicitas stands at the emperor's right, while Victoria, on his left, is placing a crown on his head. (Fig. 10)

A distinctive grouping into three sovereigns can also be seen on the arch of the Emperor Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna, ca. A.D. 210.⁷⁴ (Fig. 11) The emperor is the central and slightly larger figure standing in a chariot between his two sons. The static, strictly frontal positioning enhances the timeless quality of this

⁷⁴ John Boardman (ed.), The Oxford History of Classical Art, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 333-4.

commemorative arch and accords with the increasingly remote position of the Roman emperors at this time. We will soon see how this is also expressed in their triumphal adventus ceremonies.

The "Missorium of Theodosius," AD 388, is an imposing example in another medium. It is a silver plate, of the kind distributed by emperors in order to mark the occasion of their imperial anniversaries.⁷⁵ This one was given by "Our Lord Theodosius, Perpetual Augustus" to an important noble.⁷⁶ (Fig. 12) Continuing the distinctive grouping of three seen on the arch of Septimius Severus, this example represents the synthronos of three co-reigning Roman emperors, Theodosius I (a Spaniard), between his two sons Valentinian II and Arcadius. This metalwork commemorates Theodosius's Decennalia, created to celebrate the tenth anniversary of his ascension; it was discovered near Merida, Spain.⁷⁷ Every aspect of the composition was designed to enhance the expression of imperial status. The three emperors are enthroned against a stylized architectural setting which evokes the arcades of a palatial court. They are dressed in identical garments and

⁷⁵ Boardman, p. 322.

⁷⁶ Desmond Collins and Martin Henig, "Stone Age Hunters, Iberians and Romans," Art Treasures in Spain, (New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1969), figure 29.

⁷⁷ Henig, p. 22. It was believed to have been created in the eastern part of the Roman empire.

are nimbed, a symbol of their divine election, while each son holds a scepter in one hand and a globe in the other. Theodosius is handing the codicilli of office to a dignitary. The faces are idealized, rather than being true portraits, a tradition which had begun with Constantine. This enhances the timeless aspect of the image, setting the individual into an eternal context of worldwide and eternal imperial dominion.⁷⁸ The symmetry of the composition also enhances the ceremonial, rather than historical, message.

Except for the fact that Theodosius is much larger than his sons, this type of frontally disposed, symmetrical, enthroned dignitary with nimbus, scepter, and globe is very similar to the Trinitarian imagery under consideration. In fact, it is much closer in form than is the "Old Testament Trinity." (compare to Fig. 3) Its implications of universal dominion are also comparable. The portrayal of a globe or orb held by a monarch connotes supremacy over the world.⁷⁹

Below the palace is the reclining figure of Tellus, a personification of the earth, who looks admiringly up at the emperor, surrounded by symbols of abundance, which represent the seasons. She signifies the natural world at

⁷⁸ Sabine MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 216.

⁷⁹ Hall, p. 139.

his disposal.^{•0} Lying under the palace, Tellus conveys the idea of the rulers' sovereignty over the whole earth, a fourth-century modification of the older imagery of the reclining Tellus which symbolized the felicity of the times.^{•1} Here, on the other hand, she is placed below the emperors to epitomize their imperial dominion over the earth; she is in the position occupied by conquered barbarians on other imperial artworks.

The staff or scepter held by Theodosius' sons is an ancient emblem of monarchy; it was most commonly used when the king was depicted in the process of exercising his authority.^{•2} It is useful to remember that Theodosius was the emperor who issued edicts outlawing all religions except Christianity and, by the time of his death, had decisively transformed the Empire into a Christian state.^{•3} The missorium indicates an important moment in imperial art, since it represents certain aspects of iconography which will soon be transferred to Christ and eventually the Trinity and will no longer be considered appropriate for the emperor.^{•4} This artwork is regarded by scholars to be

^{•0} Boardman, p. 322.

^{•1} This is made explicit in the panegyrics. See MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 219.

^{•2} Hall, p. 274.

^{•3} See Stokstad, p. 22.

^{•4} MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, pp. 214-220.

an exemplar of the Roman enthronement concept during this transitional period from the late antique to the early Christian because it portrays the moment when the enthronement was transformed into a universal and eternal image.⁶⁵ Artists would eventually depend upon models like this missorium for both symbolism and style when they wished to portray the Trinity as timeless universal sovereigns. The merging of Christian and Roman traditions during the fourth century indicates the gradual incorporation of both into a newly developing Christian Empire after Constantine.⁶⁶

The illustration of "The Council of the Gods" from the Roman Vergil, created in Italy during the fifth century A.D., also conveys these symbolic ideas. (Fig. 13) The nimbed Deity who flank Jupiter are enclosed within a semi-circular vaulted composition.⁶⁷ While stars, sun, and moon reinforce the concept of heavenly power, the throne, spear, scepter, and globe are attributes of earthly

⁶⁵ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, pp. 214-220.

⁶⁶ Brilliant, p. 207.

⁶⁷ See Thomas F. Mathews, The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art, (Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 109. Jupiter's gold, halo, throne and even face were borrowed for representations of Christ during the early Christian period, when Christ, under Arian threat, had his status reinforced so that it was equal to the Father--who already had the appearance and attributes of Jupiter--the father of the gods.

majesty.●●

Thus we see that, whether in coin, silver plate or illuminated manuscript, Roman imperial sources contained numerous prototypes for the identical synthronos Trinity. Although this type as well as the Early Christian creator mundi prototype will influence the formation of the Spanish synthronos Trinity, and will even be represented together in sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries, it is the synthronos type which will be paramount in the Spanish Americas.

●● See Mathews for a discussion of the fact that the throne of Christ is an attribute of divinity, rather than a reference to imperial considerations. I believe that it symbolized both and functions as an attribute of divine power (p. 103).

Chapter III: Psalm 109 and the Trinity

Be Thou ruler, even in the midst among Thine enemies, extending Thy dominion gradually over all the unbelievers who surround thee and Thy Church on every side, Jews, Pagans, heretics, and false brethren alike, till Thou rulest even in their midst, in the very hearts of those who were once Thy bitterest foes.⁹⁹

Psalm 109 was integral to the development of the imagery of the synthronos Trinity.¹⁰⁰ The epigraph quoted above is from a commentary on the second verse of that Psalm by Remigius of Saint Germanus; it reinforces the concept of dominion over enemies of the faith which are often found in Psalm 109 illustrations. (Fig. 14, Matfré Ermengaud, "The Trinity," Breviari d'Amor, A.D. 1288) The complex body of theological commentary on Psalm 109 made it an important source for the development of Trinitarian imagery.¹⁰¹ Since this text is so critical to understanding the origin of the synthronos Trinity imagery, I will analyze its key features, giving early Medieval examples of the development of its imagery.

⁹⁹ Remigius of Saint Germanus interpreting Psalm 109:2, quoted in J.M. Neale and R.F. Littledale, A Commentary on the Psalms: From Primitive and Mediaeval Writers, volume 3, 2nd edition, (London: Joseph Masters & Co., 1874), p. 447.

¹⁰⁰ See Kantorowicz's "The Quinity of Winchester" for this psalm's importance in the development of Trinitarian imagery in general. He also gives illustrations of this point (p. 80).

¹⁰¹ Kelly has shown how Psalm 109 was used as a theological basis for the filioque doctrine, while my research also demonstrates that it was used as a theological justification for the identical synthronos Trinity within Spain.

The Old Testament Book of Psalms was used more than any other sacred text in the early Christian liturgy, and was even more important than the Gospels in providing sources for works of art.⁹² The Psalms function within the Jewish heritage as the liturgical poetry of ancient Israel, while within the Christian tradition they are used as both scripture and liturgy.⁹³ Besides observance of the Sunday Mass, the devout Christian was expected to engage in a series of daily devotions, which originally were patterned around the reading of the Psalms.⁹⁴ Until the fourteenth century the Psalter was the most commonly used book for private devotions; it was also the basis for the evolving Christian liturgy,⁹⁵ and thus was vitally important to the formation of Christian ritual and belief. The whole book of Psalms was recited every week by every priest. In

⁹² Dimitri T. Tselos, The Sources of the Utrecht Psalter Miniatures, second edition, (privately printed: Minneapolis, 1960), p. 17.

⁹³ James Luther Mays, Psalms, (Louisville, Kentucky: John Knox Press, 1994), p. ix. The Gallican Psalter (Vulgate) is used in this study since it was the version in use during the time period in question. This psalter was produced by Jerome and introduced into the liturgy in Gaul in the period before Alcuin, then absorbed into the Roman Breviary, where it was used almost exclusively until 1945. See B. M. Peebles, "Gallican Psalter," in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, volume 2, p. 441.

⁹⁴ Robert G. Calkins, Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 207. Vespers were also recited every day by the converted Native Americans of the Americas, according to contemporary chronicles. See Alonso de Benavides, p. 32.

⁹⁵ Calkins, p. 207.

addition, the spirit of the Psalter permeates every other part of the service."⁶

A Christological interpretation of the Psalms is fundamental to their usage by the Catholic Church.⁷ David, priest and king, as well as author of the Psalms, became identified with Christ. This was first affirmed by Peter's reference to Psalm 2 as a prophecy of the birth of Christ (Acts 4). Isidore of Seville goes further by interpreting virtually all of the Psalms as a reference to the birth, suffering, and resurrection of Christ.⁸ This understanding by the Visigothic theologian reinforces the fact that the Psalter was especially highly regarded in Medieval Spain. The Eighth Council of Toledo (653) ordered that "none henceforth shall be promoted to any ecclesiastical dignity who do not perfectly know the whole Psalter..."⁹ When the Council of Oviedo (1050) decreed that "The Archdeacon shall present such clerk for Ordination at the Ember seasons as know perfectly the whole Psalter..." it showed the continuing importance of the

⁶ Neale and Littledale, volume 1, 4th edition, 1884, p. 2.

⁷ Henderson, p. 232.

⁸ Isidore "De Psalterio" in Libros veteris ac novi testamenti prooemia, PL 83 (1955) column 163, cited in Henderson, p. 233.

⁹ Quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 1, p. 4.

Psalter in eleventh-century Spain.¹⁰⁰

Verse 1a - Throne-Partnership, Synthronismo

Verse 1a: (Dixit Domini) "The Lord said unto my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand...¹⁰¹

Psalm 109:1a is critically important in this study because it offered a prototype of sovereignty that had ancient roots within Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures. It would be drawn on numerous times in the New Testament, in the works of Biblical exegetes, and in the credo. "I believe in Jesus Christ...who sits at the right hand of God," was a creed produced to combat the Arian heresy, and still recited during every Catholic mass.¹⁰² The Gloria in Excelsis Deo, a song in praise of the Triune God, also makes use of this motif, "Who sits at the right hand of the

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 1, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ "Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum." This phrase was also used by Paul in I Corinthians 15:25, in a very similar way to its use in the psalm. He associates the 'enemies' as "every rule and every authority and power," including "death." See Mays, p. 354.

¹⁰² Within Medieval Spain purity of faith was especially important. The Third Council of Toledo, canon 2, stipulated that the creed must be recited by the congregation at Mass and provided for a national council to settle any controversies regarding the faith. See Sister Patrick Jerome Mullins, The Spiritual Life According to Saint Isidore of Seville, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature, volume XIII, dissertation, 1940), p. 29.

Father..."¹⁰³ Developed from this language of Psalm 109, the imagery of the Credo and the Gloria became a Renaissance and Baroque conception of the Trinity enthroned in heaven.¹⁰⁴

Psalm 109 is considered the Messianic document par excellence.¹⁰⁵ Christ interpreted Psalm 109 as a reference to his divinity and authority; this explication became the basis for its New Testament usage:

While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, Saying, what think ye of Christ? Whose Son is he? They say unto him, the Son of David. He saith unto him, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. (Matt. 24:41-44)

An image in the Carolingian Utrecht Palter, illuminated circa 820 C.E. at Reims,¹⁰⁶ offers a starting point in an analysis of the imagery which illustrated this verse. (Fig. 15) Christ-Logos is seated on the globe beside Christ-Incarnate who is on a throne; both are above anonymous nude captives. Saint Jerome made explicit this

¹⁰³ This song became popular in the Frankish Church and was recited by priests on every Sunday except during Lent and Advent. This custom was later accepted by Rome and then became an established rule for the whole western church. See Francis X. Weiser, Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1958), p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ See Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," pp. 79-80.

¹⁰⁵ Mays, p. 350.

¹⁰⁶ It is widely accepted that this psalter was based upon a lost Early Christian and/or Byzantine prototype.

duplication of the second person of the Trinity, writing that it was Christ in his human nature who rose from the dead to ascend in the flesh in order to occupy his heavenly throne. Against a background of disbelief in the divinity of Christ, Jerome wished to elucidate both of his natures.

Because Christ in his human nature occupies an earthly throne and in his divine is seated on the globe of the universe itself, there are implications of total sovereignty over heaven and earth. It is at this point that the crucial merging of both types of dominion, divine and earthly, takes place in the illustration of this Psalm.¹⁰⁷

Within the Old Testament context, David, the king of the Jews, is understood to have been called upon by God to occupy the place of distinction at his right hand.¹⁰⁸ This symbolic honor was conferred at a critical historical moment when bordering nations were becoming increasingly hostile toward Israel. Through this invitation it is made clear that although God is the supreme monarch, David, as the chosen leader of his people, participated in Yahweh's

¹⁰⁷ Othmar Keel, The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and The Book of Psalms, translated by Timothy J. Hallett, (New York: The Seabury Press, 1978), p. 264. Other biblical passages which contain an image of an enthroned Deity also exist in the revelations of St. John the Divine in the New Testament and Ezekiel and Daniel in the Old Testament.

¹⁰⁸ This also occurs in I Kings II:19.

authority.¹⁰⁹

While the Utrecht Psalter illustrates the two natures of Christ, the Seal of Godwin employs the more typical imagery of Christ seated on the right hand of the Father. Both rest their feet on a fallen enemy, an illustration of the second portion of Psalm 109:1. (Fig. 16) This ivory work is believed to be the official seal of the minister of the Anglo-Saxon King Edgar and was used to stamp documents of the king.¹¹⁰ Representing Psalm 109:1 imagery on a secular object of this type accords precisely with its ancient message--that the theocratic authority of the king is vested in his minister, following the Old Testament tradition of priest/kings. This understanding will continue to inform all subsequent illustrations of this Psalm, whether they refer to David (priest and king), Christ (divine and human natures), the Trinity (Lord of heaven and earth), or secular ruler (Charles V of France) enthroned with Christ (human and divine authority). This Psalm and its imagery thus carried a rich association of meanings in both Old and New Testaments.

As mentioned above, Jesus interprets the act of sitting at the right hand of God as referring to his

¹⁰⁹ A. Cohen, The Psalms, (London: The Soncino Press, first edition, 1945, eighth edition, 1968), p. 371.

¹¹⁰ Kelly, p. 61.

divinity and authority.¹¹¹ St. Peter's interpretation is recorded by Paul in Acts 2:33-36:

Therefore, being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear. For David is not ascended into the heavens: but he saith himself, the Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, Until I make thy foes thy footstool. Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ.

Indeed, verse 1 and its throne-partnership, or synthron-ismoi, were used as justification for belief in the divinity of Christ and against Arian, Jewish, and Islamic polemics.¹¹² The orthodox champions stated that the language of this Psalm proved the equality of the Son with the Father, since they were enthroned together as equals.¹¹³

In the ninth century a Mass text in honor of the Trinity was introduced and incorporated into the Roman liturgical books in order to counteract the Arian heresy, confirming the association between defense of the Trinity

¹¹¹ Also see Artur Weiser, The Psalms, A Commentary, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), pp. 692-7.

¹¹² This text, however, was exploited on both sides of the conflict between Christians and Arians. The Arians attempted to minimize the significance of the throne-partnership that was described in the psalm.

¹¹³ See Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," p. 80.

and polemics against the Arians.¹¹⁴ The Order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives was founded in Spain by John of Matha (d.1213), and approved by Pope Innocent III in 1198. Devoting its activities to the ransoming of Christians held captive by the Moslems in Spain, North Africa and the Near East, the order also encouraged devotion to the Holy Trinity.¹¹⁵ A miraculous vision had occurred when Matha was celebrating his first Mass in the palace of the archbishop of Paris in 1198. At the moment when the priest elevated the Host, he had seen a vision of the Trinity as well as an angel whose hands were resting on the heads of two slaves, one a Christian, the other a Moor. This phenomenon was later interpreted by John to indicate that he should found the Trinitarian Order.¹¹⁶ This reinforces the polemical nature of the belief in the Triune Deity. Why should John have seen the Trinity in his vision, if not because of its doctrinal point of distinction from all the other significant faiths professed in Spain and southern France--Moslems, Jews, Adoptionists and Arian Christians?

¹¹⁴ One of the great annual festivals of Christianity, there are popular traditions which are closely associated with this commemoration of the Trinity throughout Europe. See Francis X. Weiser, pp. 254-59.

¹¹⁵ A. T. Walsh, "Trinitarians," New Catholic Encyclopedia, volume 14, p. 293.

¹¹⁶ Edward J. Sullivan, "Politics and Propaganda in the Sagrada Forma by Claudio Coello," Art Bulletin, volume 67, number 2 (June 1985), p. 249.

The Trinitarians sponsored the Archconfraternity of the Most Holy Trinity, a richly indulgenced association for those wearing the Trinitarian scapular.¹¹⁷ Holy Trinity Confraternities were also developed at this time to promote continuing devotion to the Triune Deity.¹¹⁸

An important, although quite damaged, fifteenth-century Italian fresco of the synthronos Trinity as three identical men shows the relationship between this Mass text and the imagery in question, since it illustrates, set within a banderole, the Introit to the Mass of the Feast of the Holy Trinity.¹¹⁹ (Fig. 17, detail and Fig. 18, whole view) This fresco was part of an important cycle developed for the former Benedictine Chapel located outside the village of Scarnafigi, known today as La cappella della Santissima Trinità, in the Province of Cuneo near Saluzzo.¹²⁰ The iconographical program of the chapel appears to have been modelled on the liturgy of the Mass, while the program of the apse frescoes was very likely planned as a pictorial representation of the Credo, which as discussed, was an illustration of Psalm 109:1a. Each

¹¹⁷ Walsh, p. 294.

¹¹⁸ Weiser, p. 258.

¹¹⁹ See Snow-Smith, "Masaccio's Fresco in Santa Maria Novella: a Symbolic Representation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice," pp. 52-3.

¹²⁰ See Snow-Smith, "Masaccio's Fresco in Santa Maria Novella: a Symbolic Representation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice," p. 47.

member of the Trinity is blessing with his right hand and holding a closed book in the other, while all three figures are encircled by a partial aureole. This is a very rare type of identical Trinity, since the three bodies come together into one lower torso and only one pair of feet. This was done to give an unmistakable accentuation to their conceptual and physical unity.

Since Psalm 109:1a represented an ancient model of sovereignty, it was relied upon in the Credo, "I believe in Jesus Christ...who sits at the right hand of God," developed to refute disbelief in the divinity of Christ. The Cappella della Santissima Trinità fresco shows that the image of the identical, synthronos Trinity was used in these polemics in conjunction with the Feast of the Holy Trinity. This cycle was based on manuscript illuminations, and conceived of by Amadeus VIII, owner of one of the most complete libraries in Europe.¹²¹

Quinity of Winchester

The so-called "Quinity of Winchester," an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the early eleventh century, also contains elements taken directly from Psalm 109. (Fig. 19) The Trinity and Mary and the infant Jesus are enthroned in a

¹²¹ Snow-Smith, "Masaccio's Fresco in Santa Maria Novella: a Symbolic Representation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice," p. 52.

circular space indicating a celestial realm, while below the throne the place of dishonor is shared by Lucifer, Arius, and Judas.¹²² The name Arius tended to signify, during this period, all types of heresies, especially those who disputed the consubstantiality of the Son and the Father. For example, Wazo of Liège, in approximately 1045, used the name Arius to attack the Cathars.¹²³ Judas was frequently used as a symbol for the Jews who repudiated Jesus.¹²⁴ The feet of Christ rest on the fallen angel, while Arius and Judas are pictured sharing the region just below Lucifer with the mouth of hell.¹²⁵ The basis for this imagery is derived from Jerome's interpretation of Psalm 109, who emphasized an anti-Arian message in this text.¹²⁶

The "Quinity of Winchester" represents a conflation of the Office of the Trinity with the message of Psalm 109.

¹²² Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," p. 73.

¹²³ Kidd, p. 26.

¹²⁴ See Schiller, p. 8.

¹²⁵ See Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," and Kidd for two important analyses of this illumination. While Kantorowicz emphasizes this work in terms of patristic writing, Kidd analyzes its standing within a contemporary social and political context.

¹²⁶ Jerome, Breviarium in Psalmos, Ps.109, (Pat. Lat. 26, 1233): "Huic Domino, Cui praecipitur ut sedeat, Deus non sedet, assumptio corporis sedet. Huic ergo praecipitur ut sedeat qui homo est, qui assumptus est. Hoc adversus Arianos dicimus, et adversos eos qui dicunt: 'Major is Pater qui jubet ut sedeat, quam ille cui jebetur.'" Ps.109. Quoted in Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," p. 76.

It is, in fact, the earliest illustration of the Office of the Trinity. An emphasis on Trinitarian doctrine, as well as a concurrent emphasis on devotional practices and confraternities to promote veneration of the Trinity developed at this time.¹²⁷ The increased quantity of correlated images found in illuminated manuscripts during this period very likely pertained to the growing popularity of these private devotional practices and prayers.¹²⁸ These exercises are known as the Little Hours of the Holy Trinity and are side by side with early examples of the Hours of the Virgin.

The existence of the Trinity is not accepted by either the Jews or the Muslims. This fact became increasingly relevant in Spain, where an Islamic regime was established after an expedition of Arabs and Berbers conquered the Visigoths in 711, thereby transforming most of the Iberian Peninsula into al-Andalus.

Spain had been at the center of orthodox theological activities in refining Trinitarian doctrine during the

¹²⁷ Specific exercises and prayers to the Trinity, called "Cursus de Sancta Trinitate," were developed in the eleventh century. See Francis Wormald, Collected Writings, I. Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries, (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 106.

¹²⁸ Thus it appears that these attentions to the Trinity--a special Mass, private devotional exercises and Trinitarian iconography, including that of three identical persons, again is found to be a feature of places where the Germanic tribes had settled--the Frankish kingdoms, the Burgundian Netherlands, Anglo-Saxon England, Visigothic Spain and Germany.

sixth and seventh centuries, sponsoring synods and councils to counter Trinitarian heresies, such as that convened by Isidore of Seville in the Fourth Council of Toledo.¹²⁹ King Reccared, leader of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain, had renounced Arianism under the tutelage of Isidore's elder brother Leander of Seville in 587. After 711, Christians determined to fight Islamic hegemony fled to the north in Asturias to regroup and eventually were to wage a battle of swords and images to regain this realm.¹³⁰ However, the Muslim controlled al-Andalus became a haven for Jewish populations, persecuted throughout the remainder of Europe.¹³¹

Belief in both the Trinity as well as the divinity of Christ fundamentally differentiates Christianity from Judaism as well as Islam. Both reject these two indispensable tenets of Christianity.¹³² The Jewish apologist Trypho says,

All of us Jews expect that Christ will be a man

¹²⁹ Osborne, p. 190. Leander wrote a now lost text 'adversus Arians' and Isidore wrote one 'adversus Jews.'

¹³⁰ See Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art," Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed by H. N. Abrams, 1993), pp. 27-37.

¹³¹ For more on the political and economic situation of Visigothic and Islamic Spain, see Thomas F. Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 30.

¹³² See Daniel J. Sahas, John of Damascus on Islam, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), pp. 128-9.

of merely human origin....For your assertion that this Christ existed, and was God, before all ages, then that he was even born and became man and suffered, and that he is not man by origin, seems to me to be not only strange but foolish.¹³³

The main challenge for the Christian apologists, therefore, was to counter disbelief concerning the pre-existence and divinity of Christ as well as the Holy Spirit from scriptural sources. The Jews would cite Deuteronomy 6:4, "Hear O Israel, the Lord God is one Lord," and then ask the Christians how they could accept that Jesus was God when the Bible clearly said that there is only one God. The Christians would quote Psalms 109:1 and 2:7 (The Lord hath said to me: Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee) to defend their conviction of the divinity of Christ. Thus both faiths used the Psalms as justification for their beliefs.¹³⁴

Psalm 109 has a strong similarity to Psalm 2; both were thought to have been used during coronations, enthronements, and investitures of the kings of Judah as vicereagents of God, as well as during ceremonies conferring the office of priesthood on the monarch.¹³⁵ There is a

¹³³ Quoted in Marcel Simon, Versus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135-425), translated by H. McKeating, (Oxford University Press and The Littman Library, 1986), p. 160.

¹³⁴ See Kathleen Corrigan, Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters, (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 54-5 for more on this issue.

¹³⁵ Weiser, The Psalms, p. 693.

strong functional correspondence between the two Psalms as well as a relationship of both texts to the imagery under consideration.

The anti-Muslim polemical literature was analogous to the anti-Jewish texts, since although Muslims accept that Christ was a prophet of God, they do not believe that he is divine. The Koran states:

Christ Jesus the Son of Mary was an apostle of God, and his word, which he bestowed on Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Him: so believe in God and his apostle. Say not "Trinity"; desist: It will be better for you: for God is one God: Glory be to him: above having a Son. (4:169-171)¹³⁶

Since the divinity of Christ and the existence of the Trinity was denied in this passage, the Christian theologians responded by saying that Christ was anticipated by the Old Testament prophets, whom the Muslims also accept. Just as in the anti-Jewish polemics, Psalms 109:1 and 2:7 were cited as proofs of the divinity of Christ. The imagery of the identical synthronos Trinity, when used to illustrate Psalm 109, became a polemical weapon against these other faiths. It visually countermanded objections about both the divinity and equality of the second and third persons of the Trinity and emphasized distinctions between Roman Catholics and Arian Christians, Jews, Muslims, (and even those of the Greek Orthodox faith, as discussed in Chapter I). In the polemical literature against Islam and Judaism,

¹³⁶ As quoted in Corrigan, p. 79.

the relationship between monotheistic and trinitarian depictions of God was a leading preoccupation.¹³⁷

The identical Trinity not only visually expressed the belief that both Christ and the Holy Spirit were legitimate parts of the Trinity, but that all three members of the Trinity were identical in their very nature as well as in their appearance. Thus the motif in question reinforced this conception of equal divinity and power which the Jews, Muslims, and heretics so strongly disputed.

Because contemporary heresies threatened belief concerning the full divinity of Christ, and eventually, the Holy Spirit, Augustine interpreted this Psalm to refer to the entire Trinity. He wrote, "'...The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand;' since also the Holy Spirit is found to be called Lord..."¹³⁸ Influenced by this interpretation, illustrations of the Trinity will begin to include all three Deities as both identical and synthronos.

A related early Trinitarian battle was an attempt to disprove the adoptionist heresy held by the Mozarabic episcopate in the Islamic south, in al-Andalus (Christians living under Islamic hegemony), which posited that Christ

¹³⁷ Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, volume 3, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 2118.

¹³⁸ Augustine, On the Trinity, Book II, chapter 12, p. 46.

had been adopted by the Father. This heresy was opposed in the Commentary on the Apocalypse compiled by the Abbot Beatus of Liébana (d. after 800) between 776 and 782 in the kingdom of Asturias, the only area of northern Spain outside of Islamic control. Its relevant passage establishes the unity of Father and Son by indicating the "one seated on the throne" as Christ Incarnate (Apocalypse 4:2-3).¹³⁹ Again the enthronement of Christ is used as proof for this contested divinity and equality with the Father. Beatus aligned the Asturian region and the eastern province of Catalonia with the Carolingian empire of Charlemagne, thus removing them from the doctrinal control of the bishop of Toledo.¹⁴⁰ This alignment with the Carolingians and their heirs will continue to be an important political consideration throughout the Middle Ages in understanding the imagery in question.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ See O. K. Werckmeister, who explains that they were compiled from early Christian and early medieval Apocalypse exegeses. "Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism," in Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200, pp. 124-25.

¹⁴⁰ Werckmeister, p. 125.

¹⁴¹ On the other hand, non-Christian theologians used the same verse for their purposes. Noticing the difference of the titles used between the two lords in this psalm, the Arians and Eunomians said, "The higher degree spake unto the lower, Sit thou on My right hand," turning this into evidence for the subordination of the son. (From Zohar Gen. fol. 15, col. 139, quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 443.) Christians answered that the salutation is to the son who is incarnate in time, and not to the divine Logos. (Anastasius and Agellius, quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 443.)

Athanasius and Genebrardus also interpreted Psalm 109:1 as a reference to the divine power of Christ:

Sit Thou, rest Thyself beside Me, rule with Me, reign, enjoy My glory, be nearest unto Me, be partaker of My good things, My power and majesty, be above every virtue and principality, be superior to all created things, be close to Me in the highest, mightiest, and most honored place, reign with Me in co-equal power, as to Godhead, with like and nearest as to Thy manhood, exercising all power in heaven and earth.¹⁴²

Therefore, we see that the action of sitting beside the Father reinforces the power of the Son to rule in glory and to be co-equal in power, visually expressed in the identical, synthronos form. Augustine wrote about Psalm 109 that: "This Psalm is one of those promises, surely and openly prophesying our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; so that we are utterly unable to doubt that Christ is announced in this Psalm..." Matthew (26:64) makes this motif of Christ sitting on the right hand of the father explicit, "Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven."¹⁴³ This New Testament derivation of the Trinity enthroned in heaven is allied with three related ideas--the late Medieval conception of the 1) Church Triumphant, 2) Augustine's "City of God" and the 3) All Saints Day imagery. It is significant that this type will be found in almost all Spanish and American examples of the iconography

¹⁴² Quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 445.

¹⁴³ Quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 444.

in question during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As discussed in the introduction, the correct ceremonial placement of Christ on the right hand of the Father is an important component in these representations and can be understood as having secular political connotations. For example, Honorius of Autun, interpreting the first verse, "Sit thou on My right hand" wrote, "The first and obvious sense of these words has regard to the place of a chief minister of a kingdom at the right hand side of the king in council..."¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, the second important characteristic of this imagery can also be explained through this explication, since it accounts for the trappings of secular power which are invariably found in this motif. In the eastern Mediterranean region of Israel and adjacent nations the king's throne was looked on as a symbol of the throne of God, while the Davidic king was called "the messiah," or the one whose investiture in office involved anointing.¹⁴⁵

The throne itself is a decisive component in the disputed Trinitarian form, it has important scriptural and theological sources, as well as Roman Imperial

¹⁴⁴ Honorius of Autun, quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 443.

¹⁴⁵ See Mays, p. 351 and Leopold Sabourin, The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning, (New York: Alba House, 1974), p. 358

iconographic precedents. Augustine interpreted Daniel's great vision of the throne of God (7:9-14) in On the Trinity, extending it to the second person of the Trinity:

'I beheld,' he says, 'till the thrones were set, and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of His head like the pure wool: His throne was like the fiery flame...I saw,' he says, 'in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought Him near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, nation, and language should serve him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.' Behold the Father giving and the Son receiving, an eternal kingdom...¹⁴⁶

In Medieval commentary on Psalm 109 this passage from Daniel is often quoted.¹⁴⁷ For example, Jerome's Commentary on Ezekiel equates this vision of Daniel with that of Ezekiel as well as John's vision of the throne of God in Revelation.¹⁴⁸

Like the ancient kings of Israel, the Frankish, Carolingian, Ottonian and later dynasties of the kings of France were anointed with holy oil at their coronations. Psalm 109 pertained to the actual portion of the Jewish coronation ceremony when the king was led forth to ascend his throne. At this precise moment the human political

¹⁴⁶ Augustine, On The Trinity, p. 53.

¹⁴⁷ Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 444.

¹⁴⁸ See Kelly, p. 31.

office and divine sovereignty merge.¹⁴⁹ Because the kingship is authorized by God, the earthly ruler's reign is justified and he is revealed to be the viceregent of God. The monarchy as an institution is verified, and the king is shown to have a position almost equal to God in secular authority and sovereignty. The individual who sat at the right hand of a king on formal occasions was considered to be next to the king in rank as well as understood to be the one empowered to represent the ruler and carry out his policy in his absence.¹⁵⁰ This Psalm is an assertion about who is to mediate power on earth--clearly the one who is enthroned at the right hand of God.

European monarchs from the Middle Ages down to the twentieth century were installed at the inauguration of their reigns through rituals of anointing and coronation which, in western Europe, were of Carolingian origin.¹⁵¹ By approximately 900, some essential procedures of king-making and signifying had been both Christianized and liturgified, since they were enacted in a church or cathedral and were performed by ecclesiastics.¹⁵² The Old

¹⁴⁹ See Sabourin, p. 357. Also see Mays, pp. 351-2.

¹⁵⁰ Mays, p. 351.

¹⁵¹ Janet L. Nelson, "The Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual," in Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremony in Traditional Society, David Cannadine and Simon Price (eds.), (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 137.

¹⁵² Nelson, p. 143.

Testament had recounted the anointings of the kings of Israel by priests and prophets and these prototypes became the prime authority drawn upon for Pippin's consecration. For example, a royal consecration or coronation during the Carolingian era became a kind of sacrament which included anointing with unction.

Carolingian, French, Italian and eventually Spanish monarchs believed themselves to embody the messianic promises of the ancestry of David,¹⁵³ with an internal moral responsibility operating as the only constraint on the exercise of sovereign authority.¹⁵⁴

Psalm 109, Verse 1b "Until I make thy enemies thy footstool"

Worldwide dominion became the duty of a Christian monarch, who was to be a conqueror, a subjugator of peoples, emulating the example of David. Even more important, following the counsel of Alcuin, the monarch was obligated

¹⁵³ For information on the royal psalms, see R. E. Murphy, "Book of Psalms," New Catholic Encyclopedia, volume 11, pp. 937-938. The royal psalms refer to the contemporary king in light of the prophesy of Nathan to David (2 Sm.7:1-29).

¹⁵⁴ J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Via Regis of the Carolingian Age," in Beryl Smalley, (ed.), Trends in Medieval Political Thought, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 30. Although Psalm 109 constructs a political ideology which justified the divine right of kings, the ideal is that its claims to universal sovereignty in heaven and on earth are tempered by an important qualification-- that royal politics must live up to the highest ethical standards and be judged by God.

to be a praedicator, keeping his people free from heresy and converting the heathen. This obligation relates to the second half of verse 1, "until I make thy enemies thy footstool." (Figs. 14 and 15) Paul interpreted this passage in a militaristic sense, "For He must reign, till He hath put all enemies under His feet." (1 Cor. 15:24). The monarch is promised by God that he will be triumphant over his foes, and that God himself will be the ultimate military victor.¹⁵⁵ In the Old Testament, Yahweh will overpower the king's enemies, who will prostrate themselves before his throne. Then, following an ancient custom, he will place his foot on their necks as a sign of his conquest (Joshua 10:24).¹⁵⁶

The king's only contract was believed to be with God, not with his people.¹⁵⁷ He must rule through terror, which would ultimately save bloodshed because it would lead to the unresisting surrender of the non-Christian world,

¹⁵⁵ Artur Weiser, p. 694.

¹⁵⁶ Artur Weiser, p. 694. There are several infamous examples of this gesture. Sapor, the king of Persia forced the captive Roman Emperor Valerian to be led forth, in chains and clad in purple and other imperial insignia, and to lie down on his face upon the ground, when the Persian victor used him as a stepstool by which to mount into his saddle or chariot seat, treading on the Roman's head or back. A second example is the comparable treatment of Sultan Bayazid by Tamerlane. (See Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, cited in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 446.)

¹⁵⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, pp. 28-9.

considered his natural prey.¹⁵⁸ Thus we see a potential justification for conquest and conversion of all peoples, including those who will later be encountered in the Americas.

The enemies referred to in this Psalm do not imply simply political adversaries, but all other peoples of the earth.¹⁵⁹ This interpretation was considered appropriate because foreign rulers were not believed to have been appointed by the Lord, owed allegiance to other gods, and represented an exclusion to Yahweh's universal authority.¹⁶⁰ These same features will apply to beliefs about New Testament kingships and will be used to prophesy and rationalize the conquest of the Americas and the vanquishing of their alien deities. The messianic beliefs about Christ expressed through Psalm 109 are believed to consummate both cosmic and human history and prophesize events which will take place at the end of time.¹⁶¹ This apocalyptic connotation had special relevance for the "discovery" and conquest of the Americas, interpreted by

¹⁵⁸ Following Isidore of Seville in Sententiae, III, 47,1. See Minge, P.L. p. 83.

¹⁵⁹ Related scriptural sources for the 'enthroned over enemies' imagery are: "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool," (Is. 66:1) and "Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool." (Matt. 5:34-35.)

¹⁶⁰ Mays, p. 352.

¹⁶¹ Mays, p. 354.

the Spiritual Franciscans as the end of one age and the beginning of the new Age of the Holy Spirit.

And therefore it is said, Rule, not slay, because the Kingdom of Christ is enlarged not by the destruction, but by the conversion of sinners.¹⁶²

Historical Precedents for Verse I

Scholars believe that many parts of Psalm 109 were written just after the Jews left Egypt and under their direct influence. Verse 1a "sit thou at my right hand" was expressed architecturally in the siting of the Egyptian royal palace with its throne room on the south or right side of the temple.¹⁶³ This was symbolized sculpturally by enthroning Pharaoh Horemheb at the right hand of the king's god Horus in a work from 1345-18 B.C. (Fig. 20) Literary precedents for verse 1b "until I make thy enemies thy footstool" have been found in the hymn of victory of Egypt's Thut-mose III from 1490-36 B.C.

Words spoken by Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two lands...I cause thy opponents to fall beneath thy sandals...They come, bearing tributes upon their backs, bowing down to thy majesty, as I decree...I have come that I may cause them to trample down the great ones of Djáhi; I spread them out under thy feet throughout their countries.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Pseudo-Hieron commenting on Psalm 109:2, quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 447.

¹⁶³ Keel, p. 262.

¹⁶⁴ Quoted in Sabourin, p. 359

Visual parallels with the ancient kingdom on the Nile for this text are equally explicit. Egypt's traditional enemies, the Nubians and Asiatics, are symbolically placed beneath the feet of the future king.¹⁶⁵ (Fig. 21) This is graphically portrayed in a tomb painting of Hekaerneheh, located in Abd el-Qurna, during the reign of Thut-mose IV, 1422-13 B.C. Another example can be found in a painting from the tomb of Kanamon, Abd el-Qurna, Amenophis II, 1448-22 B.C; enemies are placed beneath the feet of the future king, portrayed as a young boy on his nurse's lap.¹⁶⁶ (Fig. 22) Even earlier prototypes for this action exist in the Assyrian kingdom of the ancient Near East.¹⁶⁷

Egyptian enthronement rituals had a strong similarity with later Jewish ones, specifically in the placement to the right hand of God (Ps. 109:1), consecrating (Ps. 2:6)¹⁶⁸, bearing of the scepter (Ps. 109:2) and sacramental draught (Ps. 109:7).¹⁶⁹ These points are particularly important since they are key elements in the later synthronos Trinity, showing that the attributes of crown, throne, scepter, and ceremonial placement, discussed in the

¹⁶⁵ Keel, pp. 253-54.

¹⁶⁶ Keel, pp. 253-54.

¹⁶⁷ For detailed information about these prototypes, see Sabourin, p. 359.

¹⁶⁸ "But I am appointed king by him over Sion his holy mountain, preaching his commandment."

¹⁶⁹ Keel, pp. 256-8.

Introduction as being of vital importance to the imagery under consideration, belong to the ancient and widespread rituals and apparatus of kingship within the middle East. Their purpose was to establish, legitimize, and guarantee the Pharaohic, Jewish and, later, Christian monarch's right to kingship.

Psalm 109, Verses 2 through 7

The attribute of the scepter is the subject of verse 2 of Psalm 109, and accounts for the use of that symbol in the synthronos imagery. "The Lord will send forth the scepter of thy power out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thy enemies." In the Jewish tradition, Yahweh was believed to be holding the scepter, stretching it forth from Zion over the earth, while commanding the monarch to rule in the midst of his foes. In Christian art, the imagery of the staff or scepter was also adapted from Roman imperial prototypes which represented the emperor in military dress appearing semper et ubique victor and holding a spear, standard, or trophaeum as a symbol of his overarching power.¹⁷⁰ This victorious ideal was transferred to Christ, who often holds a cross staff or scepter as a symbol of

¹⁷⁰ Jane E. Rosenthal, "Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical: Anthropomorphic Trinity or Threefold Christ?" Art Bulletin, volume 63, number 4 (December, 1981), p. 551.

victory over sin and death. (Fig. 23) In the French Psalter of Odbert, a miniature of "Rex Gloria" shows Christ portrayed as both savior and military victor holding a spear with a banner, above which is inscribed "victoria." He wears a cruciform nimbus, as emblematic of his sacrifice, yet he is crowned and triumphant, standing on a prostrate enemy. This miniature illustrates Psalm 23 which is interpreted in the New Testament as Christ's adventus into heaven as the "King of Glory," a military leader who is strong and mighty in battle.¹⁷¹ Because this is Christ's ascension into heaven, this Psalm and its imagery are related to the Royal Entry ritual.

Medieval secular monarchs were also depicted with this attribute of power. Since the king is assisted by God in his military victory, his rule and conquest achieved the status of prophetic history. Thus both sacred and secular imagery used these trappings of earthly power to proclaim their sovereignty. It is of interest that the scepter form itself has synthronos Trinity representations carved onto it in colonial New Mexico.

The reference to the power of Sion overpowering enemies in Verse 2 is equally significant, since it reinforces the concept of universal dominion over enemies and non-believers which was introduced in Verse 1.

Psalm 109:3, "With thee is the principality in the

¹⁷¹ See Appendix D for the full text of Psalm 23.

day of thy strength: in the brightness of the saints: from my womb before the day star I begot thee," was used in contentions against the Arians, as Verse 1 had been. In these controversies Augustine interpreted this verse as an indication that the Son was co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father in a fashion analogous to the way Psalm 109:1 had been employed. This theologian inferred that the origin of all creation implied in this verse refers to:

...the Eternal Father, as the Source of all things, even of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and that His union with the Son, always perfect, though hidden, will be disclosed and revealed in the day of the Son's power at the Judgment, amidst the glories of the risen Saints.¹⁷²

This key passage by Augustine confirms the relationship which this study has been tracing between Psalm 109, the Trinity, the Second Coming or medius adventus, and All Saints Day festivities.

The Venerable Bede interprets Verse 3 as explicating the nature of the Christian God itself, since the first person of the Trinity is affirming that both were present in the beginning of time.¹⁷³ The theological commentary of the "Arguments of Thomas" accords with Augustine's interpretation of this passage, "That Christ was born from the spiritual womb of God the Father, before the morning

¹⁷² Augustine, quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, pp. 449-50.

¹⁷³ Venerable Bede, quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 439.

star."¹⁷⁴

Verses 5 and 6 are illustrated in a combative narrative sequence in the lower right of the Utrecht Psalter miniature.¹⁷⁵ An angel is advancing and hurling spears into a group of falling soldiers, while on the extreme right a figure armed in full Roman regalia is standing upon a prone individual. This soldier is also filling a bowl with water from a spring, which illustrates the final verse of this Psalm, "He shall drink of the torrent in the way: therefore shall he lift up the head." (Fig. 15) Augustine interpreted Verse 6 as a further reference to the Last Judgment and, in fact, imagery of the Last Judgment and Second Coming is often depicted along with the synthronos Trinity; they are very closely related in form and idea. He wrote: "Rule Thou, rule, O Son of David, Lord of David, rule in the midst of Pagans, Jews, heretics, false brethren."¹⁷⁶ It is clear from this passage that the Bishop from Hippo interpreted this verse

¹⁷⁴ This is from the collections of arguments published by Thomasius, tom.ii. p. xlvi, quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 439. Since verse 4 was not illustrated in the Utrecht Psalter and has not influenced the iconography under consideration, an examination of its salient features is not necessary. It reads: "The Lord hath sworn, and he will not repent: 'Thou art of priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech.'"

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix C for verses 5 and 6.

¹⁷⁶ Augustine, "Exposition on the Book of Psalms," A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Philip Schaff (ed.), volume 8, (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1888), pp. 541-4.

as the action of God in relation to the enemies of the Church in this world; these words underscore the second part of Verse 1: "until I make thy enemies thy footstool."¹⁷⁷

Within the Jewish tradition, these passages indicated that Yahweh would rise in a final battle and defeat Israel's enemies, thinking that was associated with the Covenant Festival of Yahweh, a celebration of the enthronement of the monarch.¹⁷⁸ The god who delivers enemies into the hand of the king is a very ancient idea and was also a feature of the belief systems and imagery of many cultures of the Near East.¹⁷⁹ In an analogous fashion Christians looked forward to the final triumph of Christ and the Last Judgment.

Conclusion to Psalm 109

The whole Psalm conveys a message of royal conquest, and political and military victory over enemies which is sanctioned by God. The close relationship between faith and history in the Old Testament expressed through this and many other Psalms was adopted by New Testament theologians to apply to contemporary kingship and its relationship with

¹⁷⁷ Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 453.

¹⁷⁸ Weiser, The Psalms, p. 696.

¹⁷⁹ Keel, p. 299.

the universal sovereignty of the Trinity reflected in the power of the monarchy. It also describes the blessings conferred upon the elect.

The synthronos which portrayed the identical Deity countermanded heretical devaluations of Christ as well as the Holy Spirit since the Jews, Muslims and Arians all placed God the Father in the more prominent or sole position. This particular Trinity, on the other hand, emphasized their functional and visual similarity, while the more traditional Trinity emphasized their functional distinctions. Thus, in the face of attacks, the Deities' equality, unity and identity needed to be emphasized, and became a preferred choice. Concurrently, their enthronement over heretical enemies reinforced the Trinity's supreme power over foes who would challenge this dogmatic belief.

This Psalm and its derivations became vital to the European formation of enthroned Trinitarian imagery,¹⁰⁰ and would continue to be used in the Spanish Americas until the twentieth century.

¹⁰⁰ Both identical and filioque types.

Chapter IV: The "City of God" and the Trinity

Charlemagne and the Trinity

The monarch par excellence during the Medieval period in western Europe was Charlemagne. His coronation in Rome on December 25, 800 by Pope Leo was an attempt to create Augustine's "City of God" on earth.¹⁰¹ An unequivocal correlation between earthly and heavenly rule was established at this time in Europe which would continue until the late eighteenth century and also be relevant in the colonization of the Spanish Americas. This theocratic rule was a marked change from the largely secular government of the Merovingians.¹⁰² Modelling his idea of how a king should behave on the Old Testament, especially the Book of Samuel and the two Books of Kings, Charlemagne saw himself as a new David and the Frankish populace as the second chosen people.

Charlemagne strongly advocated the Augustinian interpretation of the Trinity, since he hoped that promoting orthodoxy in this divisive issue would enhance religious unity among his subjects, the largest component of whom were Germanic peoples who had been Arian.¹⁰³ Thus is found here, as with Constantine's sponsoring of the

¹⁰¹ Dawson, p. 52.

¹⁰² Dawson, p. 50.

¹⁰³ Kelly, p. 19.

is found here, as with Constantine's sponsoring of the Council of Nicaea I, another instance of the merging of political ideology and Trinitarian orthodoxy. Since the monarch was now a vicar of Christ, any acts of conspiracy or rebellion were effected against God.¹⁰⁴ Charlemagne hoped to enjoy a special relationship with the Christian Deity, especially after his momentous victory over the Andalusian Muslims, the infidel, in what is now southern France in the eighth century.¹⁰⁵ Frankish and Asturian (northern, Christian Spain) kings saw themselves as comparable to the priestly king David, the favored of God, so that the enthroned Deity over vanquished enemies expressed their own aspirations. Carolingian and later French kings would adapt religious imagery to their own theocratic purposes, as, for example, the Breviary of Charles V.¹⁰⁶

The via regis, the king's way, was also purported to be God's way during the Carolingian era. Since God was the sovereign of heaven, the Carolingians intensified features of royal power when applicable to God and then borrowed these aspects back for themselves. God became the source of power and the model of power; God in his heaven

¹⁰⁴ Wallace-Hadrill, p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ Kelly, pp. 145-46.

¹⁰⁶ This issue was relevant throughout the Medieval period. See Calkins, pp. 230-31, figure 128.

was a mighty ruler in his fortress, whose expression on earth was the palace complex of Charlemagne at Aix.¹⁰⁷ The Carolingian rulers perceived God as a type of monarch and the monarch as a type of god; one expression of this belief was the liturgical acclamations of the Carolingian kings known as the Laudes Regiae. These laudes announced parallels between earthly and heavenly rule; they proclaimed that the heavenly ruler approved of the earthly one.¹⁰⁸ Beginning with the acclamation "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat" they invoke the conquering God, Christ as victor, ruler and emperor; these privileges were seen as transferring to his vicars on earth.¹⁰⁹ Their sources were the acclamations of the Roman legions which had legitimized the reign of each new emperor.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ See Ernst H. Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship, (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946).

¹⁰⁹ Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship, p. 14.

¹¹⁰ Kantorowicz notes the legal implications of these acclamations for the accession of Roman emperors. Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship, p. 77.

Breviari d'Amor by Matfré Ermengaud

To follow European examples further, there is a key Provençal miniature in Matfré Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor (dated 1288) which contains a literal representation of Psalm 109, yet like the "Quinity of Winchester," does not occur in a Psalter. The illumination shows the Triune Deity enthroned above nude captives, this time generically labelled "maïls" (bad ones). The throne is placed most graphically so that it rests on the captives' bare backs. (Fig. 14) Clearly based on such sources as the "Quinity of Winchester" or the Utrecht Psalter, the first verse of Psalm 109 is made explicit since the composition is carefully composed to show the feet of both Father and Son, and not the Holy Spirit, resting on the backs of the "bad ones." Their synthronos completes the illustration of Verse 1a, "Sit thou on my right hand." Because the deities are exactly identical in appearance, raiment, hand gestures and placement the illumination is designed to accentuate their complete equality and consubstantiality. The author verifies this by writing, "E las dichas tres personas Essem en egals coronas De poder e de deïtat, De grandex' e d'eternitat."¹⁰¹ Furthermore, they are enclosed in one

¹⁰¹ Gabriel Azais, Le Breviari d'Amor de Matfré Ermengaud, suivi de sa lettre à sa soeur, (Béziers: Société Archéologique de Béziers, 1862-68), volume 1, line 1015-1019.

voluminous outer robe, crowned by one gigantic coronet and illuminated by one large cruciform nimbus.¹⁹²

Ermengaud's conception of the Trinity dominates this treatise. The author begins and ends his work in their name, and devises a hierarchy of love which culminates in the mystical union of the Three Persons of the Trinity.¹⁹³ The Breviari is a Medieval summa which includes not only instruction in religious doctrine, the rights of kings and princes, and the knowledge of good and evil, but also the evils of traditional troubadour poetry with its conceits of secular love. Ermengaud was both a Franciscan and a master of laws (senher de leys), which meant that he had a degree in civil law.¹⁹⁴ This merging of religious and secular realms also occurs in both text and imagery.

The Breviari d'Amor is an analysis of love in which the author posits two primary types: the physical attraction between animate beings; and human love for God,

¹⁹² It is, unfortunately, impossible to decipher most of the text within this miniature. It is probably a prayer to the Trinity, because in other illuminations of this kind, it is invariably a prayer which occurs with the image. This is supported by the fact that the word "Gloria" can be deciphered in the upper right, within the halo.

¹⁹³ Azais, volume 1, line 260, and volume 2, line 21550, where Ermengaud declares that the entire Trinity participate in the Incarnation.

¹⁹⁴ This term probably indicated that he had a degree in civil law. See Marianne Shapiro, "Matfré Ermengaud," Dictionary of the Middle Ages, volume 4, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), pp. 506-7.

fellow men, and material objects. From these forms Ermengaud outlines a complex love hierarchy which culminates in the mystical union of the three persons of the Trinity, made visually explicit in this miniature.¹⁹⁵

Ermengaud wrote the Breviari d'amor in Béziers, the site of the early thirteenth-century massacre of 60,000 Cathars--men, women and children.¹⁹⁶ The vibrant culture of this Spanish borderland was decimated by the Albigensian crusade and the subsequent annexation of Provence to France, as well as the establishment of the Inquisition. This latter institution was founded at the behest of Saint Dominic and Blanche of Castile, and directed its fury against the troubadour tradition once it had slaughtered the Cathars. A young Castilian, Dominic de Guzman (1170-1221), had preached unsuccessfully to the Cathars of Languedoc before the crusade to the south led by Simón de Montfort.¹⁹⁷ Within a few years of this bloody campaign forty-four Dominican (called Domini canes--the hounds of God) monasteries were established in southern France. An outgrowth of this orthodox activity was the inculcation of

¹⁹⁵ Azais, p. xxxiii.

¹⁹⁶ See Robert S. Briffault, The Troubadours, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), chapter 5.

¹⁹⁷ Marina Warner, Alone of All Her Sex: the Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary, (New York: Knopf, 1976), p. 146.

troubadour poets into the Christian sexual mores.¹⁹⁰

Ermengaud's treatise is an example of this period of literary decline within the troubadour tradition following the Albigensian suppression of the form, which had reached its peak in 1209. The result was a transformation of Provençal poetry from its lusty and explicit love lyric into a new type of orthodox verse steeped in the Christian sexual ethic which would enhance the cult of the Virgin. Ermengaud's Breviari functioned as a demonstration of the ecclesiastic requirements poetry must display if it were to pass Inquisitional muster.¹⁹¹ However, instead of turning attention from a secular love to the mother of God, as many troubadours would do, Ermengaud emphasizes the mystic love between the members of the Trinity.

The union of the Trinity is a major preoccupation of this text, with Ermengaud citing Augustine's treatise On the Trinity in support of his study. Reinforcing the message of this illumination and the text of Psalm 109 which clearly shows the Trinity enthroned over captives, he is probably making a visual reference to Arian heretics as well as Muslims and Jews in designating them "males." He also does this within the manuscript text's "contra moysems" and "contra judaeos" sections as well as

¹⁹⁰ Warner, p. 146.

¹⁹¹ Briffault, pp. 150-51.

including a diatribe against the Arians.²⁰⁰ Ermengaud cites Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jacob, Daniel, and Malachias in his testimony against these non-Christian religions.²⁰¹ Thus, in the illumination under consideration, an image of divine Triune love is combined with a criticism of non-believers and heretics. It is no wonder that such a depiction as the Trinity enthroned over enemies would find an appropriate place in this book. The fact that the Trinity are identical reinforces the point made earlier that their similitude was a visual statement against the Jews, Muslims and Arians, who disputed the divinity, power and equality of the second and third persons of the Trinity.

A contemporary letter written to the Archbishop of Tarragona, Durand of Huesca and three other friars (one of whom is believed to be Ermengaud) confirm their beliefs:

...believe in heart, perceive through faith, confess in speech, and in unequivocal words affirm that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are three persons, one God, the whole Trinity, the same in essence and substance, coeternal and omnipotent... Christ...ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead. We believe in heart and confess by mouth that there is one Church, not that of heretics, but holy, Roman, catholic, and apostolic, outside

²⁰⁰ Azais, volume 1, XL. Ermengaud wrote another tract which was dedicated solely to refuting the Cathar heresy, Contra haereticos, 1200-10, in Minge, PL, CCIV, 1235-72 and CLXXVIII, 1823-46.

²⁰¹ Ermengaud, volume 1, pp. 416-419.

of which, we believe, no one can be saved.²⁰² This contemporary document expresses a comparable sentiment to the Breviari's illumination--the complete identity of the Triune Deity and the repudiation of heresies--as well as the central motif of Christ sitting at the right hand of the Father which guarantees his divinity and equality. Taken from the credo, these beliefs are central to the Roman Catholic Church.

It is instructive to compare a painting by Tonás Giner of Saint Vincent, Bishop of Saragossa, now in the Prado, which represents Vincent positioned squarely over the prone body of a bestial-featured Muslim. (Fig. 24) This painting was originally in the center of a large, multipanelled Spanish retablo, ca. 1400, in a church dedicated to the fourth-century martyr. Invoked in the battles against heresy and apostasy, Vincent of Saragossa had innumerable churches in Spain and France dedicated to him.²⁰³ He wears a richly embroidered deacon's dalmatic and stands with a contemplative expression on a pig-snouted Muslim--easily identifiable by his ornate turban and dark skin. The positioning of Vincent is much like

²⁰² Either Ermengaud of Ebrinus, Durand of Huesca, William of St. Antonin, Durand of Naiac, Bernard of Béziers and John of Narbonne produced this confession of the faith. See Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans (eds.), Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 222-3.

²⁰³ Hall, p. 322.

that of Christ in the French Psalter of Odbert discussed earlier. (Fig. 23) The impotent brutality of the Muslim is indicated by the placement of a rod in his right hand close to the floor. Hierarchical scale has been used to make the saint appear of superhuman size, although the Muslim foe is also enlarged compared to the friar or monk located to Vincent's right. This differentiation in scale emphasizes the power of these non-believers.

A related illumination can be found in the "Biblia atlantica," of the twelfth century, which represents a variation on Psalm 109:1. (Fig. 25) This time it is Mater Ecclesia, a personification of the Church, who occupies the place of honor on Christ's right hand, while a hapless personification of the Jewish synagogue is lying prone under their feet.

This placement of Vincent and Christ and the Church above their helpless foes are without question related to Psalm 109:1, "Sit thou at my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool," as well as to illuminations like Ermengaud's showing the Trinity positioned over generic bad ones (males).

Returning to Ermengaud's Breviari illustration, (Fig. 15) the paired censuring angels at the top of the painting reveal the close association of this image with dramatic enactments, the adventus and synthronos of sacred and secular realms, as well as with coronations, during which

all of these ceremonies were accompanied by ritual censuring. Psalm 109, as noted above, was chanted during the moment of the Jewish coronation ceremony when the monarch was led forth to ascend his throne. The robe which is draped around all three could also have coronation correspondences, the "Robe Royal" which enfolded a monarch in righteousness. Part of the investiture ceremony was for the king to remove his worldly clothing and then don a royal robe, which symbolizes his spiritual transformation. The monarch becomes the religious royal, a quasi-priestly figure, at this point, which is a circumstance similar to one who accepts the monastic state. This occurrence also concurs with Psalm 109:4, "Thou art a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek." Coronation associations are made explicit through the inclusion of the giant fleur-de-lis crown which is positioned upon all three heads, the form of which was itself believed to fight against infidels and heretics.²⁰⁴

The crown is enclosed within a cruciform nimbus, thus emphasizing both the sacrifice of Christ and the relationship of the Deity with the French monarchy. Within the context of this particular manuscript, it is also a symbolic assertion of the political domination of the newly

²⁰⁴ Colette Beaune, The Birth of An Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France, translated by Susan Ross Huston, edited by Frederic L. Cheyette, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), p. 219.

annexed Provence by France. In addition, it indicates the strong relationship the French monarchs considered that they had with the Trinity, emphasized by the symbolism of the number three in the fleur-de-lis, denoting their belief that the French monarchy was the chosen of God, the anointed ones.

Believing that they had a special relationship with the Trinity, the French kings chose the Triune God itself to signify the royal house of the nation. This designation was symbolized by their three sacred attributes, the fleur-de-lis, associated with God the Father; the oriflamme, with the Son; and the unction, with the Holy Spirit.²⁰⁵ The oriflamme of Joyenval was a banner reserved for war against the infidels, thus reinforcing the relationship between the French monarchs, the Trinity and crusades against perceived enemies of the faith.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, these symbols of France were promulgated through the use of illustrations in manuscripts, such as those in Raoul de Presles's translation of the City of God by Augustine.²⁰⁷ The fleur-de-lis form for the French crown was chosen during the twelfth century when its definitive shape was also established; it soon became the ubiquitous sign of kingly

²⁰⁵ Sherman, p. 14.

²⁰⁶ Beaune, p. 223.

²⁰⁷ Beaune, p. 223.

power within France.²⁰⁸ The symbolic lily also played a central role in French adventus rituals during kingly receptions the fifteenth century (see Chapter V). The entire town staging the ceremony would be draped in gold and blue velvet and the canopy above the monarch was covered with lilies. Mystery plays were staged along the procession route and fountains created in the form of fleur-de-lis overflowed with wine.²⁰⁹ Eventually the lily, the Trinity, and royalty had an insoluble conjunction, which signified that the French monarchy enjoyed the special approval of God. Thus, the appearance of the French crown in Ermengaud's illumination in association with both the Trinity and conquest over enemies indicated that the Deity was ruler of heaven and earth and triumphant over opponents; the monarchy strongly hoped to partake of these prerogatives.²¹⁰

A later illumination created by the Limbourg Brothers

²⁰⁸ The definitive form was three-petaled, without a pistil, placed on a trilobed base, and linked at the center with a small crossbar. See Beaune, p. 202. The lily's symbolism, which was initially the attribute of the Virgin Mary, had evolved through three decisive phases when it was transferred into the lily of the royal house. While in the thirteenth century a moral and religious interpretation was developed which glorified the union of wisdom, faith, and chivalry; in the fourteenth, a historical interpretation identified the flower with the Royal Dignity of the kings of France and with the Trinity; in the fifteenth the lily united the nation with God in such a way that justified its newly conceived imperial ambitions.

²⁰⁹ Beaune, p. 224.

²¹⁰ Rosenthal, p. 552.

ca. 1410, "The Duke and Duchess of Berry Praying to the Trinity," illustrates the continuing relationship of the Trinity with the French monarchy. (Fig. 26) The identical Trinity are depicted in glory, floating in heaven surrounded by an aureole of light and a circle of angels. They are each wearing a papal tiara and are prayed to by the Duchess in a separate miniature on the same page, while her husband, the Duke of Berry, is also illustrated praying to the Trinity in an illumination on the facing page.

The French regarded themselves as the second Chosen People, presuming that they had a key role in the "Divine Plan," and believing that they had replaced the Jews in their partnership with God.²¹¹ France also deemed itself the most Christian of all nations, asserting that it had never experienced schism or heresy. Robert the Monk wrote at the end of the twelfth century of "the holy race of the Franks whom God has chosen as his people and his heritage."²¹² The crusading kings from Charlemagne to Saint Louis created an idealized role for the French king as a protector of holy places. He was thought to ascend automatically into heaven after death and was often assumed to have become a saint; analogously, his blood was considered to be holy and he was believed to be able to

²¹¹ Beaune, p. 19.

²¹² Robert the Monk, Historia hierosolymitana, PL, vol. 155, col. 670. Quoted in Beaune, p. 19.

perform miracles. All of these convictions gave the French kings an exceptional degree of power.²¹³ Politics and the arts were becoming centralized during this time in France, which was not the case in the rest of Europe.²¹⁴ While the role of the French court had been unobtrusive during the thirteenth century, its influence in both art and politics grew during the fourteenth. It will be shown below how this crusading, Messianic mantle was eventually passed to Italian and Spanish monarchs, especially Ferdinand V of Aragón (ruled 1482-1516) and Isabella I of Castile (1474-1504) during the fifteenth century,²¹⁵ and soon after to Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, Spanish monarch, and ruler of the largest empire the world had ever known.

Twelve manuscripts and ten fragments of Matfré Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor are extant.²¹⁶ This number must account for this source's influence over later

²¹³ This discussion about the nature of the French monarchy is based upon Beaune, p. 19.

²¹⁴ Françoise Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century, 1310-1380, translated by Ursule Molinaro, with the assistance of Bruce Benderson, (New York: G. Braziller, 1978), p. 9.

²¹⁵ Spain was not a unified nation at this point. Isabella and Ferdinand ruled over Castile, León, Aragón, Sicily, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca, Seville, Sardinia, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarve, Algeciras, Gibraltar, Barcelona, Vizcaya, Molina, Athens, Neopatria, Rousillon and Cedagne. See Richard Kagan, "The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella," Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration, Jay A. Levenson (ed.), (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991), p. 55.

²¹⁶ Shapiro, p. 506.

Trinitarian imagery in Spain and southern France. Because Ermengaud was a Franciscan, the fervent evangelists of Europe, the influence of this image was augmented. The Franciscans would also be the essential missionaries in the spiritual conquest of the Americas.

Spanish and French Copies of Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor

In a mid-fourteenth-century Catalonian copy of Ermengaud's miniature we see a direct link between the early Medieval illuminations of the synthronos Trinity and later Medieval and colonial examples.²¹⁷ (Fig. 27) This painting represents the identical Trinity on a more elaborate Gothic throne, making identical gestures, with analogous censuring and supporting angels, as well as a huge fleur-de-lis crown positioned over the Triune Deity. Each Deity balances a large scepter a little awkwardly below his blessing gesture, while a long ribbon seems to connect them across the front of their knees--emphasizing even more their equality and consubstantiality.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ Catalonia and Provençal had a very close relationship during this time. See J. Domínguez Bordona, Spanish Illumination, volume 1, reprint, (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1969), for the "direct influence of Avignon," p. 63.

²¹⁸ As with Ermengaud's Trinity, the text is difficult to decipher, but is probably a prayer. "Gloria" is again visible in the far right, while "Father, Son and Holy Spirit" are also discernible.

This time, however, the captives are omitted, so that the explicit meaning of Psalm 109:1b, "...make thy enemies thy footstool," has become implicit, and the identical synthronos Deity itself becomes a sign of the political and religious humbling of enemies. This implicit subject matter correlates to Augustine's interpretation of Psalm 109 in the City of God, when he declares that in this verse Christ is most openly proclaimed as king and that, although his enemies are under his feet, they are not visible.²¹⁹

That Christ sits on the right hand of god the Father is believed, not seen; that His enemies also are put under His feet doth not yet appear; it is being done, it will appear at last: yea, this is now believed, afterward it shall be seen....All the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Him; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He shall rule the nations.²²⁰

Since Augustine ends his explication of this verse by stating that all the kingdoms of the world will worship Christ and be ruled by him, we again have a justification for the future conquest of any land, including the Americas. New Testament derivations of Psalm 109:1 also omit mention of enemies underfoot and concentrate on "the Son of God sitting at the right hand of power enthroned in clouds of glory" (Matt. 26:64). Most of the imagery will follow this textual lead.

²¹⁹ Augustine, The City of God, Book XVII, p. 599.

²²⁰ Augustine, City of God, Book IX, pp. 599-600.

A French illumination from a Missal dated 1362 located in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse, like the Catalonian miniature just analyzed, derives from Ermengaud's Trinity.²²¹ (Fig. 28) God the Father in the center holds a globe of the universe in his left hand and makes a blessing sign with his right, as does Christ. A huge fleur-de-lis crown is positioned over all three heads, while a vast robe encircles them. The Three Persons are obviously standing, yet the synthronos is represented, along with three pairs of knees. Thus the symbolic enthronement of the Deity together is made strangely explicit and Augustine's interpretation of implicit enemies are to be accepted in faith.

Augustine and the Trinity

Supported by Augustine's interpretation, this connotation, which has gone beyond the literal illustration of Psalm 109, becomes encoded in the synthronos Trinitarian form. This form is used to illustrate the Office of the Trinity,²²² and appears as subject matter of missals and

²²¹ I agree with this assessment about the French miniature made by Jeffrey F. Hamburger. See The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland Circa 1300, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 127.

²²² Notable French examples exist in the Catherine of Cleves manuscript also illustrating the Office of the Trinity. (see below)

altarpieces in chapels and churches of Italy, Spain and New Spain. Emphasizing the prophetic nature of this Psalm, Augustine asserts that "it will appear at last," referring to the Second Coming when Christ's majesty will become visible to all.²²³ Related to this concept is the Holy City descending from heaven described in Revelation:

And I saw a new heaven and a new earth. For the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and the sea is no more. And I saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, 'Behold the dwelling of God with men, and he will dwell with them. And they will be his people, and God himself will be with them as their God.' (Apoc. 21:1-3)

This vision was illustrated in a late fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript, the Croy-Arenberg Book of Hours, considered one of the most significant achievements of Flemish miniature art.²²⁴ (Fig. 29) The identical synthronos Trinity occupy an elaborate Gothic throne, yet are clearly enthroned in heaven, since the structure is floating in blue sky encircled by clouds. Clothed in beautiful liturgical robes, they are each blessing with their right hands and holding scepters with their left. God the Father also holds the globe surmounted by a cross

²²³ Augustine, City of God, Book IX, p. 599.

²²⁴ See Maurits Smeyers and Jan Van der Stock (eds.), Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts 1475-1550, (Ludion Press, distributed by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), for details about the commissioning of this text, although no information is given about the iconography of the Trinity. (p. 130 and figure 31)

while the Second and Third Persons grasp an open Bible. They each wear a crown which is very similar to that worn by the contemporary Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian in a related Book of Hours.²²⁸ In fact, members of the Croy family held pre-eminent political positions in the Burgundian duchy, while others held important ecclesiastical offices. William de Croy (1498-1521) was archbishop of Toledo, a key religious post in the Spanish kingdoms. Once more, this imagery has an association with both sacred and secular rule and represents the ideal rulership of the "City of God".

This venerable bishop's interpretation of Psalm 109 will be most closely followed in subsequent illuminations of the Trinity enthroned in glory in the Spanish Americas, serving as both a justification for conquest and Christian rule, and depicting the Church Triumphant in retablos and retablo façades from New Mexico through Peru.

Charles V of France and Psalm 109

Reinforcing the association which the French kings believed they had with the Trinity, Charles V's coronation ceremony was held on Trinity Sunday, May 19, 1364. Miniatures in Le songe du verger depict the Trinity

²²⁸ See Smeyers and Van der Stock, figure 31.

anointing and crowning the king.²²⁶ An illumination from the Breviary of Charles V illustrating Psalm 109 (c. 1370-80) epitomizes the special relationship which Charles believed that he had with Christ, and by implication, with the Trinity. The kneeling King is beckoned by Christ to sit beside him on the throne; both have symbols of their respective sovereignty. While Charles wears the fleur-de-lis crown, Christ holds the globe of universal dominion in his left hand. (Fig. 30)

The imagery was developed under the auspices of the French king and a religious theologian.²²⁷ Avril calls this representation "thoroughly audacious" since it implies that Charles is the favored of God, yet it has been demonstrated that this very idea was implicit in Psalm 109 from the time of its origin in Israel; therefore, the illumination is simply expressing the ancient theocratic idea, also endorsed by the French, of the divine source of their royal power. It is logical within this context, since the monarch is accepted as the Vicar of Christ, divinely ordained as king.²²⁸ The privileged relationship

²²⁶ Claire Richter Sherman, The Portraits of Charles V of France (1138-1380), (New York: New York University Press, 1969), p. 39.

²²⁷ This theologian was possibly a Dominican, who also developed the cycle of the Belleville Breviary. See Avril, p. 61, plate 11).

²²⁸ Avril, p. 112. Avril states that this miniature was based upon a prototype in the slightly earlier Belleville Breviary, since both had a Last Judgement in the

between "the foremost chosen one" and God is made explicit in a way which perfectly expresses Charles V's concept of royal prerogative.²²⁹

The Last Judgment which appears in the lower register of the illumination is also applicable within the context of Psalm 109 because Verse 5 states that "he shall judge among nations.." Augustine interpreted this portion of Psalm 109 as referring to ... "the majesty of Christ, of hidden punishment and future judgment."²³⁰

Charles V was most interested in extending the power of the crown. To accomplish this he created a library with works on law, theology, history, and literature that assisted scholars in their research and writing to confirm the power of the monarchy.²³¹ In arranging for his own enthronement ceremony, the monarch and the authors of the program and text probably studied Charles' collection of eight historical coronation Ordines to find a precedent for

lower register; however, the artist of the Breviary of Charles V has changed the top register illumination from the typical Trinity to the representation of Charles V and Christ. It was the Trinity which by this time more typically appeared as an illustration to Psalm 109.

²²⁹ Avril, p. 112. The two most common accompaniments to the illustration of Psalm 109 with the Trinity were the Last Judgment and the Coronation of the Virgin.

²³⁰ Augustine, Exposition on The Book of Psalms, p. 544.

²³¹ Sherman, p. 13. Sherman does not remark on the way the iconography and language of Psalm 109 reinforces this analysis of the justification for royal power.

Charles' desire to enhance his royal power.²³² On the day before his coronation, Charles and his civilian followers received an imperial welcome (adventus) at the west door of the Cathedral of Rheims by the archbishop and clergy; these events were portrayed in the Coronation Book of Charles V. of France.²³³ (Fig. 31) While Charles and his subordinates are modestly dressed to indicate their humility, the archbishop, bishops and deacons who greet them at the portal of a schematized Gothic cathedral are richly attired in official ecclesiastical garments. The archbishop wears a fleur-de-lis cope emblazoned with the arms of his district along the border; he holds an aspergillum with which he is sprinkling the king with holy water. Further into the church a deacon is carrying an incense boat in his left hand and appears to be swinging a censer with his right. Other symbolic objects held by religious personnel are processional crosses, candlesticks, croziers and a text of the Gospel. In another miniature from the same series, the archbishop presents the scepter and Hand of Justice to the kneeling Charles (Fig. 32). A balance between Church and State is again depicted; in fact, there is an equivalence between religion and government because both representatives wear

²³² Sherman, p. 13.

²³³ See E. S. Dewick (ed.), The Coronation Book of Charles V. of France (Cottonian Ms. Tiberius B. VIII), (London: Harrison and Sons, 1899).

fleur-de-lis robes. The royal scepter consists of a long staff which is surmounted by a small sculpture of an enthroned emperor.

After receiving the scepter and Hand of Justice, Charles was crowned and then mounted a tribune which had been specially constructed within the cathedral and seated himself on his throne. (Fig. 33) He is depicted receiving the kiss of his peers, beginning with the archbishop, who called out three times, "Vivat rex in eternum."²³⁴ The other peers of the realm surround the king and hold the crown above his head. Still holding the royal scepter and Hand of Justice, he wears robes decorated with the fleur-de-lis, as do many of those present. The royal scepter is represented quite clearly in this miniature: the crowned emperor is seated on the orb of the universe, an attribute of royal power with a striking resemblance to scepters found in colonial New Mexico which depict the synthronos Trinity.²³⁵

Charles commissioned French translations of Latin and Christian classics that concerned political and moral questions of government, such as Augustine's City of

²³⁴ Avril, plate 28.

²³⁵ Avril states that this scepter looks very much like the so-called scepter of Charlemagne now in the Louvre. (plate 28)

God.²³⁶ The king wished to stress the divine sanction which he believed the French monarchy enjoyed. This special relationship with God was made most visible in the king's anointing during the coronation ceremony when the monarch was consecrated with a sacred balm. It was believed to have been first delivered by an angel in the form of a dove during Saint Remi's baptism of Clovis.²³⁷ The French assumed that, while other rulers were anointed with mundane oil, only they used oil which was sacred, a special unction believed to give the king the miraculous power to cure scrofula, as well as having an almost sacramental power to absolve him of his sins.²³⁸

Late Medieval Spain was influenced by France in these pretensions to divine kingship. Spain's sovereign was legally both rex et sacerdos, king and high priest, a feature that was also based upon medieval theories of divine kingship. Since the reconquest of Islamic Spain her monarchs had insisted on both consecration and anointment by bishops in order to authenticate their divine right to rule, as did the French and English monarchs. It was believed that when a bishop, as a representative of Christ, anointed the king with chrism, the monarch was imbued with

²³⁶ Sherman, p. 13. Thus we again see an emphasis on the works of Augustine--the thirteenth-century revival and during the fourteenth century in France.

²³⁷ Sherman, p. 14.

²³⁸ Sherman, p. 14.

divinity. This union of human and divine reflected on earth that kingdom in heaven prayed for in the Our Father, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven."²³⁹

It is significant to note that the mid-twentieth-century English coronation of Elizabeth II, performed by the Church of England, followed this ancient precedent which had begun with Charlemagne and continued with Charles V.²⁴⁰ Every element of the coronation ritual--the enfolding robe, enthronement, orb, Old Testament precedents and the union of sacred and secular power are found in the Trinity imagery in question, thus showing the survival of these ancient forms of regal ceremony.

Psalm 109 had an unbroken line of interpretation from ancient Judah to the late Medieval period which legitimized royal power and was used in the context of coronation and

²³⁹ Gutierrez, p. 100.

²⁴⁰ The scriptures are a prophecy of Elizabeth's forthcoming reign. Divested of her regalia, Elizabeth was presented as a humble, frail creature who was now to be brought into contact with the divine. She was enthroned in the chair of King Edward. The Archbishop made the sign of the cross on her hands, breast and the crown of her head in order to place her into the tradition of the Kings of Israel and all previous rulers of England. She was presented with the sword and orb, the latter symbolizing the wide sphere of her power, which she placed on the altar to resanctify her own authority. She was dressed in the Robe Royal, which symbolically enfolded her in righteousness. For this ceremony, see Edward Shils and Michael Young, "The Meaning of the Coronation," Sociological Review, volume 1, number 2 (December 1953), pp. 63-81.

kingly ritual; furthermore, these same uses will be operative in the Americas. The imagery which expressed this prerogative was the synthronos Trinity.

A related image was Titian's influential mid-sixteenth-century painting entitled "Gloria," commissioned by Emperor Charles V. (Fig. 4) It depicts the filioque Trinity presiding over heaven and was influenced by Augustine's City of God, which had renewed influence during the sixteenth-century. (Fig. 4) The filioque Trinity, like the synthronos Trinity, visually expressed the orthodox position on the Trinity contra heterodox positions. Since the Father and Son are always identical in filioque illustrations, the equal divinity of the Son is emphasized; furthermore, both participate in breathing forth (spirating) the Holy Spirit. Titian's contract specifically requested that he portray the Father and the Son as exactly identical in this painting.²⁴¹ St. Peter Martyr, the celebrated persecutor of heretics, is included among the saints in paradise in the lower register of the

²⁴¹ Erwin Panofsky, Problems in Titian: Mostly Iconographic, (New York: New York University Press, 1969). Panofsky asserts that the identity of Father and Son prevailed from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. After this time, he says that the Father was "invariably" distinguished from the Son through age and attributes, especially reserving the papal tiara or imperial crown for the Father (p. 71). However, I have found many examples of the identical Trinity from the fifteenth through twentieth centuries in Italy, Flanders, Spain and the Spanish Americas. While they were not as prevalent in Europe as in the Spanish Americas, especially after the mid-eighteenth-century ban, they certainly exist.

painting. Panofsky believes that this may have been at the behest of Charles V so that he could align himself with Peter's Athanasian position on the Trinity against the Arian heretics.²⁴² There was a revival of Arianism and Arianizing doctrines during the sixteenth century, and Charles himself had had some early association with Michael Servetus, the chief advocate of anti-Athanasiasm, through his confessor Juan Quintana. As with the synthronos Trinities, there is some confusion about whether Titian's painting depicts the "All Saints" iconography²⁴³ or the Last Judgment, since the family of Charles appear as supplicants wrapped in shrouds who are humbly praying for admission into heaven.²⁴⁴ This would be consistent with a Last Judgment theme. However, because this painting more closely follows patterns established to illustrate Augustine's "City of God", it is considered a vision of heaven.

Although both filioque and synthronos Trinities are related because they are polemical images which were developed to combat heresies and heterodox beliefs, within Spain and the Spanish Americas the synthronos Trinity are more prevalent than the filioque Trinity, even to express

²⁴² See Panofsky, pp. 64-71.

²⁴³ Also called the Celestial Court and the Eternal Beatitude of the City of God (from Augustine).

²⁴⁴ Panofsky, pp. 68-9.

the filioque doctrine. (Fig. 5) In Spain the identical synthronos Trinity visually countermanded objections about the complete equality, divinity and identity of the second and third persons of the Trinity, which, as has already been discussed, was disputed by Muslims, Jews, Adoptionists and Arians. Since the first three of these groups were much more prominent in Spain than in the rest of western Europe, this consideration must have assumed the greatest importance, so that both Spain and the Americas preferred to use the identical synthronos Trinity for even the filioque concept.

Spanish Baroque Synthronos Trinity

An important late Baroque example can be found on the remate (top panel) of the retablo mayor of the Church of the Royal Seminary of San Carlos Borromeo, Zaragoza, forming a transition into seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Spanish examples. A high-relief identical Trinity is enthroned in clouds of glory. (Fig. 34) Christ is on the right of the Father holding a large crucifix, the Father in the center holds a scepter in his left hand while blessing with his right, and the Holy Spirit on his left has a dove in the center of his chest. They all have radiating triangular nimbi. This altarpiece was created under the direction of Brother Pablo Diego de Lacarre, a

Jesuit and member of the seminary.²⁴⁵

The San Carlos Trinity is very much like those also found in the Spanish Americas, including similar attributes and correct ceremonial placement. These correspondences do not indicate that the Zaragoza altarpiece was the model, a print must have been used in that capacity; however, it does indicate the likelihood of a common source. This imagery continued to be used in Spain right up until the second ban of 1745, since this altarpiece was created circa 1725-36.

Rather than occupying an earthly type of throne, the San Carlos Deity is represented as enthroned in heaven, among the clouds. There are numerous theological precedents for this expression of the universal power and rule of the Trinity over heaven and earth. Gulielmus Durandis, Bishop of Mende, ca. 1237-96, provides an interpretation:

...when on a state or lofty throne, We be taught His present power: as if He said, All things are given to Me in heaven and in earth: according to that saying, I saw the Lord sitting upon His Throne: that is, reigning over the angels: as the text, Which sitteth upon the Cherubim...the Son of Man coming in the clouds with power and great glory.²⁴⁶

This passage is clearly drawn from Matthew 26:64,
"hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting at the

²⁴⁵ Pamplona, pp. 25-6.

²⁴⁶ This is a reference to Matt. 25:18 and 24:30; Isaiah 6:1-2; and Psalm 80:1. See Durandis, pp. 58-9.

right hand of the Power and coming upon the clouds of heaven." This is also a reference to the vision of Isaiah.²⁴⁷ Christ, after his Ascension and at the time of his adventus into heaven, becomes the synthronos of God the Father, sitting on his right hand.²⁴⁸ Hugh of Saint-Victor explained:

...when He went forth from His Father, and returned unto His Father,--went forth indeed even unto Hades, returned unto the Throne of God--to make all His Elect, from the beginning even unto the end of the world, one kingdom in the visions of the Supreme Trinity: in which is gloried one God world without end.²⁴⁹

In his famous Ninth Letter, Pope Gregory states that one should venerate Jesus "...in his heavenly glory (aut natum aut passum sed et in throno sedentem)."²⁵⁰ This passage makes it clear that Christ's eternal throne is equal to his heavenly glory--there is no distinction. It is this imagery which numerous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century synthronos Trinity examples in both visual art and mystery plays represent.

²⁴⁷ See Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," Art Bulletin, volume 26 (December 1944), p. 213.

²⁴⁸ Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 213.

²⁴⁹ Hugh of Saint-Victor's, in Durandis, p. 205.

²⁵⁰ Quoted by Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art, translated by Edmund Jephcott, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 10.

Chapter V

The Adventus and Synthronos

Ceremonies in Relationship to the Trinity

The synthronos of Christ after his Ascension has sources in the Roman adventus (Royal Entry) and enthronement rituals, and the symbiosis between the two forms, visual and dramatic, was critical to the development of the synthronos imagery throughout the period of the conquest of the Spanish Americas. The Psalms, in particular 2, 45 and 109, played a vital role in these rituals, since their language was adapted into ceremonies of imperial and ecclesiastical welcome and enthronement. The adventus ceremony was used by religious and secular leaders through the period of the Renaissance in Europe and until the time of Independence in the Spanish Americas. Dignitaries would meet, embrace, and walk together into the cathedral. The monarch was positioned at the right of the religious dignitary, thus continuing the importance of ceremonial placement. During this ceremony the first verse of Psalm 109 was sung at Vespers to signify that the historic visit was regarded in the light of the ancient Psalmic prophecy and that the messianic promise had been realized at the moment of the king's advent to the city or monastery.²⁵¹ After the Royal Entry, a symbolic enthronement ritual was enacted

²⁵¹ See Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," note #7, p. 74.

(synthronos), which parallels the enthronement in the Trinitarian imagery under consideration.

The imagery of the imperial adventus had its ultimate source in Homeric descriptions of a divine arrival.²⁵² The earliest historical prototypes were royal receptions in the Hellenistic era, later emulated by imperial Rome.²⁵³ By 200 A.D. the adventus had become part of a royal drama of triumph and victory, and which had developed from the triumph itself, the entry of a victorious general or emperor into Rome.²⁵⁴ The triumph of the emperor culminated in the relationship formed between the emperor and his subjects, which the ceremony of adventus orchestrated.²⁵⁵ A ritual of persuasion, integration and consent, it was used as a means of securing the allegiance of both military and civilian subjects, as well as a display of consensus.²⁵⁶ Since the triumphator wore the

²⁵² MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 18.

²⁵³ Many, but not all, scholars believe that the ceremony was modelled upon Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem a week before his death. See Kantorowicz for the pros and Mathews for the cons.

²⁵⁴ See Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 214. Also see MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: the Ceremony of Adventus," p. 725.

²⁵⁵ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 54.

²⁵⁶ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 48.

dress of a king or of Jupiter and had the attributes of scepter, and crown, this helps to account for the use of these characteristics in the later synthronos imagery of the Trinity.²⁹⁷

The basis for this ceremony in Roman tradition was the concept of imperial pietas, or dutiful conduct and piety; exemplary conduct would result in an imperial epiphany. During this ceremony the emperor-god appeared as the Savior of the World, so that the welcoming ritual attained a sacred quality and monarchs were welcomed as Messiahs, benefactors, and sovereigns.²⁹⁸ In the largitio bowl of Constantine, the emperor's adventus on horseback trampling an enemy shows the action inherent in the first stage of this ceremony. (Fig. 35) The second stage of the adventus ceremony, the enthronement of the Roman emperors, is most relevant as a source for the imagery in question. Developing in the late classical period, the ceremony was modified from an action of arrival into a tableau of imperial presence which communicated the universal dominion of the ruler.²⁹⁹ By the fourth century, completely static

²⁹⁷ M. Cary et al (ed.), The Oxford Classical Dictionary, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949, reprinted 1966), p. 926.

²⁹⁸ Sabine G. MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: the Ceremony of Adventus," Historia, volume 21 (1972), p. 721.

²⁹⁹ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 55.

formal images, in which the emperors are depicted as rigidly frontal, replaced the earlier themes of the emperor in movement.²⁶⁰

A narrative example can be found on the obelisk base which represents Theodosius's adventus and synthronos in A.D. 389, as well as the submission of the barbarians. (Fig. 36) Three emperors, Theodosius, Valentinian II and Arcadius, together with the prince Honorius, are enthroned in the Kathisma, flanked by soldiers, senators and courtiers, while barbarians and one African approach from the lower right and three Iranians advance from the lower left, all bearing offerings. This imagery is analogous to the Psalm 109 illumination in Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor, since it represents both synthronos and mastery over enemies. (Fig. 15) In each case what is portrayed is not an actual historical event, but a symbol of religious/imperial ideology that conveys the message of the Deity/emperor's universal dominion.

The synthronos of the Emperor Constantine and his court is depicted on the emperor's triumphal arch in Rome. (Fig. 37) A stationary, enthroned and majestic emperor is set off from, not only conquered enemies, but also his own subjects. Works like these functioned to secure and confirm the allegiance of both civilian and military

²⁶⁰ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, pp. 55-56.

subjects of the emperor.

The imperial presence of the enthroned emperor/s could also be realized through their images which made immutable the enthronement portion of the adventus ritual.²⁶¹ These images functioned as a lauratron, symbolizing the divine presence of the emperor and allowing the business of the empire to be legally conducted. The person of the emperor could be compared to a work of art or artifact and the monarch, in fact, often deliberately behaved in such a way as to become as motionless and eternal as an image itself.

Just as in the adventus ceremony for the emperor, the imperial images were formally received, acclaimed and exhibited in public sites. The classical theory of the relationship between an image and its prototype made possible the application of the same set of ceremonial actions to both the emperor and his image. This long-standing understanding during the Roman Empire became official policy during the Tetrarchy. An example of the enactment of this ceremonial is the proclamation of Maximus in Alexandria in A.D.386:

The emperor Theodosius conceded that Maximus should be emperor and should be shown together with himself in the [imperial] images, and he made Maximus worthy of being acclaimed emperor... To this effect, Theodosius also sent Cynegius, the quaestor of the palace, to Egypt with orders

²⁶¹ This discussion is based upon MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, pp. 55-7.

to cause everyone to forswear the worship of the gods, and to put locks on the temples. The Alexandrians were to receive the image of Maximus, and to erect it in public, and Cynegius was to proclaim to the people that Maximus had become co-emperor.²⁶²

A critical issue in this context was not merely the display of the images of the co-emperor, but the replacement of the previous religious cult by these images,²⁶³ which would also be an important procedure in the spiritual conquest of the Americas.

By the fourth century, the themes of imperial adventus were re-allocated and reshaped into a Christian context to represent the distinct arrivals of Christ, especially during Palm Sunday, the Ascension, and the Second Coming as well as the Annunciation and Nativity.²⁶⁴

Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday began to communicate imperial overtones during the fourth century when the iconography of imperial receptions was used in this new religious and social framework.²⁶⁵ The feast of Palm Sunday is still one of the most popular Christian ritual activities and is not only repeated each year but

²⁶² MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 67.

²⁶³ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 67.

²⁶⁴ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 66.

²⁶⁵ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 65.

also staged every Sunday during mass, since the congregation welcomes their priest in a fashion analogous to the reception of Christ into Jerusalem. This ceremony takes place in churches consciously designed with the architectural vocabulary of imperial Rome. The triumphal arch of both portal and chancel signify, in this new context, the victorious nature of the Christian faith.²⁶⁶

This is the action prophesied by Psalm 109. In Early Christian churches the analogy between divine and earthly synthronos is made explicit within the structure and decoration of the architecture itself. For example, beneath an apse mosaic showing Christ enthroned, the bishop sits on his elevated seat (cathedra) flanked by the clergy who sat on their synthronon, a semicircular bench in the church of St. Pudenziana, Rome, ca. A.D. 400.²⁶⁷ (Fig. 38) The cathedral was, in fact, named for the cathedra, the bishop's throne and the symbol of his authority. (Fig. 39) In the Basilica Euphrasiana, Parenzo, ca. 550, mosaics over the apse represent Christ enthroned on the sphere of the universe flanked by apostles, while within the apse the program depicts the enthroned Mary and the Christ child flanked by angels and saints. Directly below these didactic images the bishop and clergy enacted the same

²⁶⁶ This triumphal form is also related to the medieval ciborium.

²⁶⁷ Mathews, p. 113.

synthronos.²⁶⁸ (Fig. 40) In the English Lincoln Cathedral, the bishop's throne is placed in the center of a grouping of three; he is flanked by the Vicar General's throne on his right and the Registrar's throne on his left. The Medieval exegete Rupert interpreted "God sitteth upon His holy seat" as a reference to eternity.²⁶⁹ Given this understanding, it is no wonder that the enthronement of the Trinity would carry such weight as symbolic of divine and earthly authority for all eternity and would be continually represented in the Americas after conquest.

When Paul describes Christ's Second Coming, he uses the word apantesis, which is synonymous with adventus.²⁷⁰ "When the Son of Man comes in his glory and all the angels with him, he will sit in state on his throne, with all the nations gathered before him." (Matt.25:31) Those who have died in grace will meet him first, then both living and dead will rise up and will meet Christ in the clouds.²⁷¹ This hoped-for universal event is expected at the end of time, and will be the adventus par excellence of the

²⁶⁸ Mathews, p. 113. Mathews argues for an interpretation of the political implications of rulership referring to the power of bishops and not Roman-style imperial leadership.

²⁶⁹ Rupert, quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 2, p. 134.

²⁷⁰ See Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 211.

²⁷¹ MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: the Ceremony of Adventus," p. 725.

universal sovereign. The journey of the soul and its arrival at the celestial Jerusalem is also analogous because the soul is anointed through the sacrament of Extreme Unction just before death and is therefore ready to be received into heaven. The "presence" of Christ in the Eucharist is another type of adventus, enacted during every mass.

Comparable to these receptions of Christ, the monarch's adventus entailed some Messianic implications. The adventus ceremony was enacted when a ruler entered a city or visited a church or monastery where he was greeted and welcomed by the resident priests, or abbot and monks. For example, when royalty was met at the Abbey St. Gall, a poet would greet the monarch and hope that he would be welcomed by the celestial militia descending from heaven, the choir of virgins led by Mary, the apostles and martyrs.²⁷² This celestial apparition also received the prince as he entered the church through the visual media of the frescoes, mosaics and altarpieces and was enthroned, along with the religious leaders, under these visions of heavenly triumph.

Constantine's triumphant entry in 312 into Rome under the cross-monogram of Christ after his victory at the Milvian Bridge was the beginning of this tradition in the

²⁷² Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 208.

Early Christian era. Continuing into the Medieval period, the Frankish kings, who had settled in former Roman provinces, took over this and many other imperial institutions.²⁷³ Adapted by bishops and patriarchs the adventus ceremony remained as an important political/ecclesiastical ritual throughout early modern Europe.

The definitive era for the origin of the ritual and ideology of Medieval rulership was between the mid-eighth and late ninth century.²⁷⁴ The formative period for the liturgical adventus was also the Carolingian period. Charlemagne's reception was patterned after Christ's adventus during Palm Sunday and this model also remained authoritative for all imperial welcome ceremonies in Rome during the Medieval period.²⁷⁵ The ritual of the king's liturgical reception included chants, processions of those bearing crosses, sprinkling with holy water, censuring from thuribels, lighting of candles and carrying of sacred books, as well as the processing of religious paintings and

²⁷³ Janet L. Nelson, "The Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual," in David Cannadine and Simon Price (eds.), Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Society, (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 180.

²⁷⁴ Nelson, p. 137.

²⁷⁵ See Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 211.

sculptures.²⁷⁶ These familiar symbolic regalia are many of the attributes which appear in the Trinitarian imagery in question, and which were already seen in the Provençal and Catalanian Breviariis d'Amor discussed in the previous chapter.

This ritual prescribed an elaborate protocol in receiving the head of state by attendant clergy and other religious individuals. The entering dignitary would be met by various delegations at various distances from the city, and while children waved palm branches, some of the clergy carried crosses. Lined up in hierarchical order according to status, the population would greet the monarch. The activities of carrying torches, burning incense, pouring aromatic oils, singing hymns and strewing flowers were all marks of respect which typified this ceremony.²⁷⁷ One of the most important features of the adventus ceremony was that it supplied a ritual behavior for the encounter of different types of individuals, and for their convergence into one group.²⁷⁸ This function will become applicable to the Americas immediately after the conquest and will be consciously used to reinforce the newly won sovereignty of

²⁷⁶ Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 208.

²⁷⁷ See Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 212.

²⁷⁸ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 43.

Spanish over Native Americans. Thus, the image of the Trinity over the altar and façades of the Spanish Americas functions just as the Trinity itself--ruling the "New World." A critical issue in this context was not merely the display of the images of the co-emperor, but the replacement of pagan cults by these images, understood in this context to be the substitution of the Christian Deity for the Aztec and other Native American gods.

Not only was Psalm 109 chanted at these receptions, but its language was used and adapted for other types of prayers and chants for these ritual events. An example of such a chant was:

To the ruling king.... May God your father be with you, and may he put all your enemies under your feet, and may he establish your rule in peace that through you his great name will be glorified.²⁷⁹

Another example is found in a manuscript of Metz of the early ninth century, most likely referring to Charles the Bald:

The necks of all peoples shall bend to thee,
The kingdoms of earth shall submit to thee,
That ever thou mayst rule in eternity.
Heaven rejoice and Earth jubilate:
A new Constantine has irradiated this world,
A famous Charles, offspring of saints,

²⁷⁹ "Ad regem ducendum. ...sit dominus deus tuus tecum detque omnes inimicos tuos sub pedibus tuis et stabiliat regnum tuum in pace, ut per te nomen magnum glorificetur in saecula..." Translation by Clarden R. Johnson. Quoted in Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," note #12.

Whom God has elected to rule the nations....²⁰⁰

This type of chant, sung at royal or imperial receptions, clearly makes use of the same language of power over enemies used in Psalms 109 and 45. The monarch is proclaimed as a triumphant world ruler, physically as well as politically dominating the peoples and kingdoms of the earth. The ruler is granted cosmic associations and the city that he graces with a royal visit is thought of as a timeless Zion or a new Jerusalem. Often the ruler would be compared to Solomon, while his adventus should be regarded as the dawn of a new Golden Age, also believed to have been established in the Americas, the New Jerusalem par excellence where this ceremony was enacted during every conquest.

This expectation is represented many times over in benedictions for the Medieval ruler, who hoped to share this throne with Christ and rule in condominium with the christus "cuius typum gerit in nomine."²⁰¹ Those present would shout, "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini," greeting their monarch or other official.²⁰² This acclaim makes it clear that these receptions were modelled upon

²⁰⁰ Quoted in Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 209.

²⁰¹ Quoted in Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 213.

²⁰² Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 211.

Christ's Entry into Jerusalem during Palm Sunday, and since Christ was received as the King of the Jews, these parallels are not surprising. St. Francis himself had had similar homage paid to him when he had entered Assisi, walking on a cloak thrown down in tribute to him.²⁰³

At the moment of adventus, or the symbolic epiphany of a monarch, the Messianic-eschatological mission of his reign was stressed, visibly as well as audibly.²⁰⁴ The adventus ceremony was also enacted during coronations and other official events and when, for example, it was performed just before the coronation ceremony of Charles V of France.²⁰⁵ We recall how Psalm 109 was illustrated with Christ beckoning to the monarch to be enthroned beside him. Ferdinand and Isabella staged this ceremony during the reconquista whenever they captured a new portion of Muslim territory. The last stronghold of Muslim occupation, Granada, was captured in 1492. On the morning of January second, the grand cardinal Mendoza led a detachment of troops to occupy the Alhambra and to receive the dazzling cavalcade led by Ferdinand and Isabella. At the same time, the defeated Muslim prince Abdallah descended the

²⁰³ John McAndrew, The Open-Air Churches of Sixteenth-Century Mexico: Atrios, Posas, Open Chapels, and Other Studies, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 32.

²⁰⁴ See Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 230.

²⁰⁵ Sherman, p. 35.

hill from his fortress/palace and delivered the keys of the Alhambra to his conquerors, begging for clemency for the Muslim populace left behind.²⁰⁶

The Royal Entry in Medieval Spain was celebrated with processions, allegorical pageants and games. When Alphonso XI, for example, had made his entry into Seville in 1327, there were masquerades representaciones (pageants or floats without action or dialogue), processions under triumphal arches, and knightly games. Civic leaders were responsible for carrying out the program, assisted by the guilds and brotherhoods.²⁰⁷ Allied with the courtly masquerades, these programs eventually developed into festival plays.²⁰⁸

"Drama of the Virtues" Miracle Play

One influential festival play has a direct bearing on the synthronos Trinity imagery. Celebrations held in Saragossa in 1414 for the coronation of Ferdinand of Antequera

²⁰⁶ For this and other adventus rituals in Spain see William Hickling Prescott, History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, volume II, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1864), pp. 96-7.

²⁰⁷ J.P. Wickersham Crawford, Spanish Drama Before Lope de Varga, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967, revised edition, first published, 1922), pp. 8-9.

²⁰⁸ Crawford, p. 57. This was the same process which transformed Corpus Christi festivities into religious drama.

featured a castle-pageant bearing four maidens on its tower symbolizing Justice, Truth, Peace and Mercy.²⁸⁹ This was a version of the "Drama of the Virtues" miracle play taken directly from the words of Psalm 84:10, "Mercy and Truth have met each other, Justice and Peace have embraced." An exceptionally popular play throughout the Middle Ages,²⁹⁰ the Drama of the Virtues became an equally prevalent subject for illustrated editions of Mystery plays, in Books of Hours, tapestries, and in a translation of Jacobus de Voragine's Golden Legend.

The Trinity were featured as dramatis persona in the last episode where the daughters, Mercy, Justice, Truth and Peace, considered the thoughts or offspring of God, debate the Incarnation.²⁹¹ Discussing and arguing with each person of the Trinity and with each other about the possibility of the redemption of humanity, Justice and Truth demand retribution, while Mercy and Peace urge forgiveness.²⁹² They are, nevertheless, eventually reconciled to the equity of the Incarnation of Christ as

²⁸⁹ Crawford, p. 9.

²⁹⁰ Crawford, p. 139. It was not only staged individually, it was also found in the Passion play of Arnoul Gréban.

²⁹¹ Verdier, NCE, p. 307. It was also called the Parliament (or Trial) in Heaven drama or the Dispute of the Four Virtues.

²⁹² For this theme in literature see Samuel C. Chew, The Virtues Reconciled: An Iconographical Study, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1947).

sacrifice for the sin of humanity.²⁹³ Because each member of the Trinity plays an active role in this drama, the convention of portraying the Holy Spirit in human form was frequently used.²⁹⁴ (Fig. 41) This mystery play made use of the identical, synthronos Trinity and it was often illustrated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As evidence of the importance of this play, it was performed during coronation ceremonies in fifteenth-century Spain as well as being staged during Royal Entry enactments and ecclesiastical processions.²⁹⁵ These correspondences verify the close relationship between the Psalms, the identical synthronos Trinity, and the adventus and coronation rituals in both secular and religious realms. Because the Drama of the Virtues and its representations in manuscripts and tapestries often used the imagery of the identical, synthronos Trinity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it provided a model for universal authority which was imitated by secular leaders in the

²⁹³ Lynette R. Muir, "The Trinity in Medieval Drama," in The Drama of the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays, ed. C. Davidson et al., introduction by Clifford Davidson, (New York: Ams Press, Inc., 1982), p. 83.

²⁹⁴ See Heimann, pp. 47-8. Heimann attributes the popularity of the identical Trinity to mystery plays; however, later research has shown that it is only the case in the mystery plays where the Trinity have active roles, not in all medieval drama which included the Triune Deity.

²⁹⁵ Adolfo Salvatore Cavallo, Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1993), p. 42.

period of the "discovery" and conquest of the "New World." Furthermore, this play must have been brought to the Americas, since there is a depiction of the virtues located just below the identical synthronos Trinity on the façade of the eighteenth-century Mexican La Cata Chapel, which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Schiller relates the well-known identical Trinity illustrated in Herrad of Hohenbourg's twelfth-century Hortus Deliciarum to the Drama of the Virtues. (Fig. 42) The Triune Deity hold a scroll which reads, "Let us make man in the image and likeness of God," (Gen. 1:26) thus tying this imagery to the creator mundi type as well as to the mystery play about salvation.²⁹⁶

In the twelfth-century Homilies of the Monk Jacobus, a Greek manuscript, there is an early pictorial representation of the Trinity deliberating on the Redemption.²⁹⁷ (Fig. 43) Enthroned and surrounded by angelic hosts, the Trinity prepare to send Gabriel to earth as a messenger of humanities' deliverance. Another illumination in the same manuscript illustrates Gabriel returning to heaven after the Annunciation to Mary. (Fig.

²⁹⁶ According to Schiller (p. 9), Byzantine models are surmised to have been used for this manuscript; however, they are from the Byzantine Drama of the Virtues prototype, rather than from the vision of Abraham. This is clear by comparing the two types. The Triune Deity created by Herrad are enthroned; they do not accompany Abraham, they are not in the guise of angels.

²⁹⁷ See W. Braunfels, p. XXIIIff.

44) While Mary sits demurely in her house at the lower left, the angel returns to heaven, where the Etimasia is being guarded by numerous angels.²⁹⁸ The Etimasia is the empty throne, an important Early Christian symbol of the Trinity, usually represented exactly as depicted here, with a cloth of honor covering the back of the throne.

The theme of the Trinity deliberating on the Redemption very likely originated in a sermon by Pope Leo I (440-61).²⁹⁹ Leo uses dialogue in which God emphasizes the identity between himself and the second person of the Trinity, disputed throughout the Medieval period by heretics, Muslims and Jews:

This is my Son; his nature, which is identical with mine, he has not seized by force or wrongly usurped, but, while still preserving my glory and as the unalterable God, has condescended to take on the form of a servant in order to implement our mutual plan for the restitution of mankind.³⁰⁰

This identity will be an important feature of both visual and dramatic depictions of this drama and will also include numerous examples of the synthronismoi. Hugh

²⁹⁸ There are too few examples which have survived or are known to allow for a definitive understanding of the connection between western and Byzantine representations of this topic, according to Schiller (p. 11). There are, moreover, important differences in theology between the two churches which makes any direct cross-fertilization unlikely, as I mentioned in the Introduction.

²⁹⁹ Schiller, p. 10.

³⁰⁰ Sermo L1, Homilien uber das Evangelium der Transfiguration, BKV, volume 11, part 11 (Munich 1927), p. 74. Quoted in Schiller, p. 10.

of Saint-Victor's wrote a commentary on the Psalms which was an allegorical interpretation of Psalm 84:10 in which he personifies the four virtues (Mercy, Peace, Justice and Truth) which had originally belonged to humanity but had been lost after the fall from grace. Christ offers to redeem human kind, whereupon Gabriel is sent to announce the Incarnation to Mary. Quite obscure until the late Middle Ages, the theme gained in recognition when the renowned mystic Mechthild von Magdeburg (c.1212-83) experienced it in a vision. She saw Christ kneel before the Father and offer to redeem mankind; the Holy Spirit requested to accompany him to earth, but the Father responded that Christ must bear this sacrifice alone.³⁰¹ Her teacher Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153) had incorporated this allegory into the lesson of the Judgment of Solomon and preached it for the feast of the Annunciation.³⁰² The Venerable Bede had affirmed that Psalm 109 sang most fully of the Incarnation of Christ; other exegetes added that it proclaimed the advent of the Son, thus tying the Psalm to both Annunciation and adventus ceremony.³⁰³ Robert Grosseteste, the eminent Bishop of Lincoln, wrote Le Chateau d'Amour in the thirteenth century, a poem on this theme which takes place on earth,

³⁰¹ See Braunfels, p. xxiv and Schiller, p. 11.

³⁰² Schiller, p. 11.

³⁰³ Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 439.

rather than in heaven, having feudal aspects.³⁰⁴ The Meditations on the Life of Christ, once attributed to St. Bonaventure, introduces the theme of the Redemption with the allegory of the Drama of the Virtues.

Since the Drama of the Virtues was so popular during the Middle Ages in both theatrical and visual form, it was partially responsible for the transmission of the image of the identical synthronos Trinity.³⁰⁵ An example is the illumination from the fifteenth-century Parisian translation of the Golden Legend depicts the identical Trinity in heaven accompanied by angels of the heavenly court. (Fig. 41) While Christ makes a blessing sign, the Holy Spirit holds an orb surmounted by a cross. All three wear papal tiaras, have cruciform nimbi, and hold a massive Bible. In the lower register, the center is occupied by the Annunciation. While Mercy and Peace converse to the left of Mary, Justice and Truth embrace to the right of Gabriel. Two Old Testament patriarchs also flank the Annunciation. It was very appropriate for an Annunciation to be allied with this imagery, since this was the moment of Christ's adventus to humanity and to Mary, as well as being an important part of Bernard's sermon using this

³⁰⁴ Chew, p. 38.

³⁰⁵ Emile Mâle, Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources, 2nd edition, (Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series XC-3, 1986), p. 42.

allegory.

In Spanish versions the Drama of the Virtues introduces the Nativity; in other countries it preceded the Annunciation.³⁰⁶ Both types are related to the joyful reception (adventus) of Christ on earth.

A fifteenth-century Book of Hours created for Charles de Bourbon, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS 179), represents the four Virtues in the lower register with Gabriel between them, while the upper register depicts the identical Trinity. (Fig. 45) God the Father rests his left hand on an orb while making the blessing of the Trinity with his right. The Virtues are crowned, regally dressed and are all carrying scepters, except for Justice, who holds a sword.

A sixteenth-century example, from the Heures à l'usage de Rome, is quite similar in iconography, even though this was a printed manuscript.³⁰⁷ (Fig. 46) The book was published by Hardouyn in Paris in 1514 and the illustration was printed in outline form, then hand-colored. The identical Trinity are in heaven holding a large Bible; on earth below, under a round arch, are the four Virtues with Gabriel, who holds a scepter. The Virtue on the far right is labelled "Mia" which was an abbreviation for Misericordia, Mercy. To her left is

³⁰⁶ Crawford, p. 139.

³⁰⁷ Chew, p. 63.

"Ecclesia" a representation of Truth, reconciled with a handshake. Opposite them are Justice and Peace, who kiss. Resting on the ground beside Peace is a diminutive model of a Gothic church, signifying the "Peace of God's Church."³⁰⁸

A related idea is expressed in the "Animation of Adam by the Trinity," illustrated in a fifteenth-century French Bible Historiale. It depicts the synthronos Trinity, flanked by angel musicians in heaven, all occupying the upper register of a miniature. They are about to bring Adam to life, who is lying prone in front of a curving wattle fence in the lower register.³⁰⁹ (Fig. 47) The Father, in the center, is wearing a papal tiara and holding a small child in his arms, the soul of Eve who will soon join Adam on earth. Christ and the Holy Spirit are identical and all three have cruciform nimbi. The adventus of life into Adam is clearly meant to be represented here since Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation, accompanies the earthly scene.³¹⁰ Carefully pictured to the far right of the scene on earth, Gabriel is not meant to effect the animation but to symbolize the moment when Adam receives

³⁰⁸ Chew points out that Justice and Peace are mislabeled; Justice, with a sword, is labelled peace, and vice-versa. (p. 63.)

³⁰⁹ Heimann, p. 51.

³¹⁰ For the Annunciation relationship, see Heimann, p. 51.

the spirit of life.³¹¹

The Drama of the Four Virtues held a very important position in the earliest era of the mystery plays, forming the chronological transition between the Fall of Man and the Incarnation of Christ. It is found in Spanish, French, Flemish and Italian versions, all of which use this type of Trinitarian dramatis persona.³¹²

Part of the challenge of portraying the Trinity was the perceived impropriety of portraying God outside of the Incarnation. According to Christ, "He that has seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, show us the Father?" (John 14:9) Before the thirteenth century the Father and Holy Spirit did not appear in sacred drama, and when the Trinity was portrayed, the Deity often have a cruciform nimbus to indicate the Incarnation aspect which was considered most appropriate for representation.³¹³ The most common manifestation of the Holy Spirit in Medieval drama are fire or a dove, which required special

³¹¹ In a miniature illustrated in Heimann (p. 52d) the Trinity is shown sending down a soul from heaven on a ray of light to a couple who are waiting for it in bed. The accompanying scroll reads, "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram." The creator mundi Trinity participates in the birth of every individual although in this illustration the Holy Spirit is shown as a dove.

³¹² Mâle, p. 37.

³¹³ Muir, p. 75.

machinery.³¹⁴ In the early Anglo-Norman Creation play, Adam, God appears as Christ who is referred to as Figura, which means that the Son is the figure or the image of the Father.³¹⁵ However, by the high Medieval period the convention of portraying the Father as well as the Holy Spirit became established and frequently used the anthropomorphic type, especially when the Deity had speaking roles, as was the case in the Drama of the Virtues.³¹⁶ Another important source for this theme was Prudentius's fourth-century poem Psychomachia.

The earliest known illustration of the Drama of the Virtues based on Mechthild's vision is found in the Book of Hours made for Catherine of Cleves, Duchess of Guelders, ca. 1440. In the Sunday Hours of the Trinity, compline, the Trinity are represented deliberating on the

³¹⁴ Muir, p. 82.

³¹⁵ Muir, p. 78.

³¹⁶ See Muir, p. 84. The Flemish play is Die eerste bliscap van Maria, ed W.H. Beuken, 1973; the English is Ludus Coventriae, Play XI. Spain has a comparative dearth of sacred drama, and those few which she has are not of particular interest in their presentation of the Trinity (Muir, p. 80). And yet, Spain was influenced by France and that country has plays of interest. And Mexico was influenced by Flanders in this area, which has interesting Trinitarian drama. Another example was the Flemish drama First Joy of Mary and in the English Parlemtent of Heaven from the N-Town plays, which also has a debate between the persons of the Trinity. This was a continuing attempt to dramatize the Trinity, yet to ensure their essential unity.

Incarnation.³¹⁷ (Fig. 48) For sext, the illumination depicts Christ kneeling humbly in acceptance of his sacrificial mission while God the Father hands him a cross.³¹⁸ This manuscript is one of the few complete examples of a Medieval Book of Hours that survives. It has many other important examples of Trinitarian iconography illustrated in the miniatures accompanying the "Little Hours of the Trinity."

The Drama of the Virtues was also represented in tapestry form. Six imposing sets with ten panels each, requiring more than 260 running feet of wall space, were woven in Brussels, ca. 1500, for cathedrals and palaces in Spain.³¹⁹ Four tapestries from the set which were originally created for the Cathedral of Toledo are now in the collection of the DeYoung Museum in San Francisco.

"The Creation and Fall of Man" is the first panel in the series and represents the identical Trinity no less than seven times, conflating the creator mundi and synthronismoï iconography. (Fig. 49) In the top center

³¹⁷ See John Plummer, introduction and commentaries, The Hours of Catherine of Cleves, (New York: George Braziller, 1966), pp. 8-9. Plummer says this miniature illustrates matins, while Braunfels says compline.

³¹⁸ The imagery corresponds to Philipians 2:5ff and Psalm 40:8f. See Schiller, p. 11.

³¹⁹ For these tapestries, see Anna G. Bennett, Five Centuries of Tapestry from The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1976), p. 54. The bibliography gives more information.

are the synthronos Trinity in Paradise framed by sun, moon and clouds and wearing jewel-trimmed copes and breastplates as well as closed imperial crowns. They also hold orbs and scepters, displaying both imperial and ecclesiastical power. Accompanied by angel musicians playing a portative organ and a harp, a choir sings behind the throne. Mercy, holding a lily, is placed to the right of Christ, while Justice, carrying a sword, is to the left of the Holy Spirit. Moving to the upper left, the Trinity float against waves and clouds to depict the first two days of Genesis when light was created and the firmament divided the waters. In the lower left, the Triune Deity stand on earth to symbolize the third day and the creation of dry land. Moving to the right, they point to the sun, the moon and the star-filled sky to represent the fourth day. On the fifth day, the creation of the fish and birds is depicted, while the Trinity are making a composite sign of the cross--each hand pauses at a different point to represent this gesture. Moving to the lower right of the tapestry, the animals on earth are created and Adam and Eve kneel before the Trinity. In the upper corner to the right of the synthronismoi, the Triune Deity appear to move and turn in all directions in order to survey the results of creation. Further right, the original sin and expulsion from the Garden of Eden are represented. The synthronos Trinity in Paradise in the center of the tapestry is the

beginning and end of this elaborate narrative, since the Trinity and the heavenly court exists eternally and independently of humanity. Enthroned in glory, the Trinity are the focal point of an image of the Heavenly Kingdom which the faithful yearn to join.

The second panel in this series, "The Vices Attack Man," includes an identical, synthronos Trinity in the upper left who are seated behind the Fountain of Life, listening to a debate between two allegorical figures who represent the Virtues. (Fig. 50) Throughout the remainder of this tapestry, humanity capitulates to the Vices.³²⁰ Also included in the bottom corners are the Old Testament figures of Jeremiah and David, embodying Augustine's principle that "the Old Testament is nothing but the New covered with a veil, and the New is nothing but the Old unveiled."³²¹ The Biblia pauperum, ca. 1460, elaborates upon this typological idea with numerous visual and scriptural examples as does the Speculum humanae salvationes of 1324 which relied upon Augustine's conception.³²²

The third panel, "The Virtues Intercede for Man," represents an identical, synthronos Trinity in the upper

³²⁰ See Bennett, for a complete description of this tapestry, pp. 60-1.

³²¹ Quoted in Bennett, p. 60.

³²² Bennett, pp. 60-1.

center sumptuously dressed and arrayed as in the two preceding tapestries and accompanied by angels of the heavenly court. (Fig. 51) This tapestry depicts the drama already visible in illuminated manuscripts representing the Virtues debating with the Trinity and with each other about the justice of man's potential salvation.³²³ The placement of the Trinity just above the Virtues has a strong resemblance with the relief on the façade of La Cata Chapel in Mexico, although the Virtues are more active in the narrative-based tapestry, while they are more static on the church façade (compare Figs. 51 and 72).

Panel four, "The Nativity and Other New Testament Scenes," can be found in a related set which was originally created for the Burgos Cathedral, but is now in the Cloisters Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.³²⁴ (Fig. 52) The identical Trinity are represented in the upper portion of the tapestry, just to the right of center, under a jeweled arch which is supported by a pair of slender spiraling columns. A patterned cloth of honor is placed just behind the Deity; the Father and Holy Spirit stand in front of the cloth,

³²³ Not only are the Trinity all depicted as identical men in this series, but Adam bears a strong resemblance to the deity as well. This understanding comes from Augustine, "And we indeed recognize in ourselves the image of God, that is, of the supreme Trinity..." The City of God, p. 370.

³²⁴ The Metropolitan Museum titles this panel, "Christ is Born as Man's Redeemer."

with Mary positioned in front of them. Christ is seated, contemplating his imminent mission on earth, while Gabriel is positioned in the front left holding a scepter with a banderole reading Ave/maria/plne(?), his greeting to Mary. A crowned personification of Humility leans toward Gabriel with her arms outstretched.³²⁵

The "Resurrection" is a culmination of Christ's sacrifice to redeem humanity. (Fig. 53) Christ, in the center of the tapestry, stands on his empty tomb. This was a convention adapted from mystery plays, since paintings or sculptures often depict Christ as hovering in mid-air.³²⁶ He wears the elaborate costume found in the other panels of this complex narrative, but his head is illuminated by an aureole of sun's rays, instead of a crown. He is surrounded by personifications of Beauty, Pleasure, Fortitude, Reason, Duration and Swiftness. Enthroned in heaven above Christ, the other two members of the Trinity, with orbs, scepters, crowns and elaborate costumes, await Christ.³²⁷

The "Ascension" brings the Drama of the Mysteries full circle. (Fig. 54) In the center of the panel, Christ ascends into heaven, accompanied by angels, leaving

³²⁵ Cavallo gives a complete description of this tapestry and its complex narrative. (pp. 426-27).

³²⁶ Bennett, p. 72.

³²⁷ For the remainder of the iconography of this panel, see Bennett (pp. 72-3).

behind on earth Mary and the Apostles. Christ is awaited by the Father and the Holy Spirit in heaven, as in the Resurrection. Further right in the upper register, the complete synthronos Trinity is represented with members of the heavenly court.

The program for these tapestries must have been developed by an ecclesiastic, since they show a sophisticated knowledge of contemporary theology. Scholars believe that five mystery plays, one morality play, and a sermon were coalesced to create the narrative of these elaborate works.³²⁰ It has been theorized that the tapestry workshop was headed by Pieter van Aelst, tapestry master to the Emperor Maximilian I, but no documents have been located to substantiate this hypothesis.

The mystery play, Le Pélerinage de Jésus-Christ, written by Guillaume de Deguileville, was very likely drawn upon by tapestry designers as well as illuminators of manuscripts because it has an analogous conception of the Heavenly Kingdom. In this drama, Christ, after His thirty-three year pilgrimage on earth and Ascension into heaven, is enthroned on the right side of God the Father among the saints and angels.³²¹

A similar vignette can be found in Voragine's Golden

³²⁰ See Bennett, p. 54.

³²¹ Verdier, p. 307.

Legend.³³⁰ Jean Fouquet, who was strongly influenced by mystery plays, painted Voragine's scene of the Heavenly Kingdom adoring the Trinity and Mary in the Book of Hours of Étienne Chevalier, ca. 1453.³³¹ (Fig. 55) The three Persons of the Trinity are identical in both appearance and raiment, and are seated together on an elaborate Gothic throne. They are flanked by familiar censuring angels, and are each holding a globe in their left hand and making a blessing sign with their right. The saints who make up the heavenly kingdom are below, while above are the celestial hierarchies of the angels. Compositionally, the ranks of angels and holy personages, such as prophets, martyrs, popes, virgins and apostles, are cut off at the edges of the miniature, a convention which meant that the scene extended into infinity.³³² The Trinity looks toward Mary, who is on a slightly lower throne to their right.

There is another image of the Trinity in this Book of Hours (Fig. 56), which depicts the identical Deity clothed in white robes and holding globes surmounted by a cross, symbols of universal authority. This time Christ has left

³³⁰ See Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend; or, Lives of the Saints, translated by William Caxton, volume 6, (New York: Ams Press, 1973), p. 107.

³³¹ Verdier, p. 307 and Claude Schaefer, introduction and legends, The Hours of Étienne Chevalier, illuminated by Jehan Fouquet, translated by Marianne Sinclair, (New York: George Braziller, 1971), figure 27 and p. 8.

³³² Schaefer, plate 27.

his throne to crown Mary, who kneels before him.³³³ Mary's coronation, just after her adventus in heaven, will be a very popular theme during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout the Spanish Americas, which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Fouquet has created a beautiful open-air palace, with the three hierarchies of angels that flank the scene forming an enclosure of colored light. The painter has chosen to represent a completely different type of throne from the intricate Gothic one illustrated in the previous miniature. A pontifical throne room is depicted analogous to those painted by the Italian Renaissance painter Fra Filippo Lippi.³³⁴ Fouquet's trip to Italy just before he was commissioned to paint Chevalier's manuscript is considered an important influence for both his style as well as his use of Italian Renaissance decorative, figurative and architectural motifs, such as this throne room.³³⁵

The French artist has composed his miniature around a tripartite visual concept and wherein three steps lead to the triple throne and three circular forms of inlaid

³³³ The portion of prayer which is still visible (all of the miniatures were cut from their original manuscript) reads, "Save and support us sheep from wrath." Translation by Clarden R. Johnson.

³³⁴ Schaefer, p. 15.

³³⁵ Fouquet was particularly influenced by Florentine culture. Schaefer, pp. 11-15.

marble are arranged vertically as well as horizontally, as well as three ranks of paired angels. Luminous colors and lavish gold used throughout the miniature contrast with the simplicity of the white robes worn by the Deity and the alternation of the warm and cool colors create a sense of balance appropriate to the majesty of this heavenly vision.

Étienne Chevalier had a close relationship with the king and was named Treasurer of France in 1452, just before he commissioned this sumptuous Book of Hours. He was entrusted with diplomatic negotiations, and was responsible for executing both the king's and Agnes Sorel's will, reflecting the close symbolic relationship between the French monarchs and the Trinity.³³⁶

Fouquet's familiarity with the theater is evident in his simultaneous presentation of dramatic vignettes, his use of continuous narration between successive events, and his frequent division of miniatures into two levels with the help of placards on which the beginning of a prayer is written.³³⁷ In a comparable way the performance of mystery plays occurred in compartments, known as mansions, in which different scenes were enacted simultaneously or tableaux

³³⁶ Schaefer, p. 17.

³³⁷ See the Martyrdom of Saint Apollonia, plate 45, for the clearest example of these conventions, as well as examples of sets, lighting and other illustrations of medieval theater. Schaefer, p. 21.

were formed. Each compartment was divided into two or three stories, which were often hung with detachable placards.

These examples show that the influence of the theater could have been responsible for the popularity of this type of Trinitarian imagery.³³⁸ The outstanding period of vernacular biblical drama is the fifteenth century,³³⁹ which is also the time of the great popularity of the identical Trinity in Europe, such as the Hours of Catherine of Cleves and the Hours of Étienne Chevalier.³⁴⁰ However, Medieval drama was not the ultimate source for this imagery, since there are examples of this imagery which predate the mystery plays. Since the Drama of the Virtues and its visual illustrations made extensive use of the identical, synthronos Trinity during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and this play was performed during adventus and coronation ceremonies and religious processions, it provided a model for universal authority which was emulated by secular leaders in the period of the "discovery" and conquest of the "New World."

³³⁸ Adelheid Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," Journal of the Warburg Institute, volume II, #1 (July 1938), p. 48.

³³⁹ Muir, p. 79 and Male, p. 33.

³⁴⁰ See Kolve, p. 183.

Chapter VI
The Conquest of the Americas
and the Synthronos Trinity

The Franciscan friars were fundamental in establishing Medieval religious drama. Mystery and miracle plays as well as other significant elements of the European Medieval devotional matrix came to New Spain and became an important part of its religious and cultural life. The rituals of the Catholic Church provided a formal structure for daily life, and observation of Holy Week, Corpus Christi, Christmas, and feast days of the patron saints were the most important annual festivals. Even more important than in Europe, dramatic enactment in the Spanish Americas compensated for enormous language barriers and served as a critical didactic instrument for the friars. For this reason, sacred drama and liturgical processions were, and still are, frequently enacted in the Spanish Americas. During religious processions, especially during Holy Week and on Corpus Christi Day, religious images are carried through the streets. The performance of elaborate liturgical dramas have also continued in the Americas and make use of religious imagery.

Religion, art and daily life were woven together in the Spanish colonies where education as well as social activities were conducted under the auspices of the Church. Religious observations required a large number of

sculptures and paintings, since the church needed religious works to use in the rituals accompanying the sacred fiestas, as well as in the church decoration. Families also set up home altars to their patron saints. A wide range of lesser known saints and complex symbolic or allegorical scenes can still be found in this isolated portion of New Spain, indicating that the full spectrum of Catholicism was transplanted to this territory.³⁴¹ As George Kubler remarks:

It is as if the linear geometry of the past had been realigned in plane projection. The formulas of fifty generations of Christian art, rising from many depths, all crowd against the recent present, affording an unparalleled view of the survival of many ancient kinds of meaning.³⁴²

From the mid-eighteenth through the late nineteenth centuries, the Spanish Americas were the last recipient of the accumulated traditions of Christian imagery and drama. The use of the adventus ritual and synthronos imagery, embedded in the Medieval European theocracy, especially Franciscan rituals, were brought to the Americas and thus survived the ban by Rome.

Confraternities, cofradías, were established for staging religious drama, and the yield of cofradía

³⁴¹ William Wroth, Christian Images in Hispanic New Mexico, (Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center: The Taylor Museum, 1982), p. 10.

³⁴² George Kubler, essay in Santos, An Exhibition of the Religious Folk Art of New Mexico. (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1964), p. 7.

agricultural lands was used to help support these festivities. Cofradías continue to produce religious plays as well as Sunday and feast day processions. A contemporary promenade to the parish church of Santo Tomás in Chichicastenango, Guatemala features the anthropomorphic Trinity borne in a triumphal carriage. (Fig. 57) Deemed newly relevant for the Spanish Americas, drama, processions and visual imagery which included the Trinity were brought to the "New World" after conquest and still play an important role in religious life.

The Spiritual Conquest of the Americas

The encyclopedic imagery which accompanied the conquest was echoed by Spain's comprehensive theological and philosophical foundation for its missionizing and colonization activities. This basis was more extensively wrought than those established by other colonial powers.³⁴³ While the conquistadors were exploring and vanquishing new territories for the mother country, historians and theologians were grappling with the challenge of the rights and responsibility of empire. The Dominicans Bartolomé de Las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria debated ecclesiastical

³⁴³ The legal, spiritual and human status of the Native Americans were matters of intense concern to the missionaries and the Spanish crown, which unfortunately did not mitigate very much the atrocities of conquest. Sylvest, p. 6.

and juridical concerns. A third contingent, the Franciscan Spiritualist friars, contributed a spiritual and mystical interpretation of the conquest under the influence of Joachim of Fiore.³⁴⁴

The Spanish believed that they had a divinely appointed mission to fulfill in the Americas, which became a crusade to conquer the native peoples in order to convert them to Christianity. This understanding was an outgrowth of the reconquista, the reconquest of Islamic Spain by the Christians, a formative experience that helped to shape later issues about the rights of the Spanish vis à vis the native peoples in the Americas as well as the conditions under which the conquerors could justify claiming their land.³⁴⁵ The Americas were considered to be God's reward for their service in effecting the reconquista in the mother country.

A bull of Pope Alexander VI in 1501 reveals the astute way the Renaissance popes understood and manipulated the politics of the conquest, so that the elimination of native religions was tied to the Spanish right to rule over the Americas. Addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, it read:

...the complete faith with which you revere ourselves and the Roman church assuredly deserve that you be enabled with freedom and alacrity to

³⁴⁴ For more about this issue, see Phelan, p. 6.

³⁴⁵ Sylvest, p. 10.

fulfill your plans, those particularly which respect the exaltation of the Catholic faith and the humbling of the infidel and barbarian peoples...to the end that in them all obnoxious cults be removed and the Most High be worshiped and honored.³⁴⁶

Thus the primary religious justification for conquest was the duty of the monarch to spread the gospel among the heathen. This was the ideological assumption upon which the Patronato real de los Indies (royal patronage of the Indies) was grounded, fusing church and state in both the mother country and her colonies. Set forth in the 1508 bull of Pope Julius II, the significance of this royal patronage was that the Spanish monarchs would oversee the spread of missionization and the protection of the Catholic church and in return the church would remit monies received to the crown and permit royal intervention in ecclesiastical affairs. The duty to undertake missionary activity in the Americas was awarded, therefore, in exchange for the right of conquest and settlement.

The most important precedent for the Patronato real was the so-called Bull of Granada (Orthodoxie fidei propagationem) granted by Innocent VIII in 1486 to Isabella and Ferdinand.³⁴⁷ The reconquista had assumed the character of a holy war or crusade, as, in fact, it had

³⁴⁶ Reproduced in W. Eugene Shiels, King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real, (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961), pp. 90-1.

³⁴⁷ Sylvest, pp. 11-12.

been considered since 1065 when Pope Alexander II sanctified the venture and blessed its banners.³⁴⁸ Military conflict lasted until 1492, when the last Islamic stronghold in the Iberian peninsula was crushed--the same year, of course, that Christopher Columbus sailed in search of the Indies.³⁴⁹

Subsequent bulls of Alexander VI and Julius II extended the apparatus of royal patronage to the Americas, so that the entire construction of the Spanish colonial church lay in the hands of the crown. The monarch selected every cleric who would cross the ocean for religious purposes, as well as the location of each cathedral and church.³⁵⁰

Theological and legal justification for conquest and colonization was based upon the understanding of Ostiensis who maintained that, in accordance with natural law and the ius gentium, heathen people had had their own political jurisdiction and their own possessions before Christ came into the world. But after this milestone all sovereign rights and powers held by "heathen" people passed to

³⁴⁸ Shiels, pp. 4-5.

³⁴⁹ Pope Sixtus IV had ennobled this earlier campaign with another crusading bull in 1482 and gave the Catholic monarch an opulent banner with a massive silver cross, which Ferdinand brought to every battle and in dazzling ceremony set high on the altar of the church within each captured town. Shiels, p. 5.

³⁵⁰ Shiels, p. 6.

Christ, who according to this doctrine, became lord over the earth, both in the spiritual and temporal sense. Christ delegated supreme authority to his successors, St. Peter and subsequent popes, giving them legal rights and powers which could nullify the existing jurisdictions of the infidel or heathen.³⁵¹ This is the legal and ecclesiastical message conveyed by the Church which was echoed by its artistic programs.

The conception of world unity that was emerging with the voyages of discovery strengthened the hope for religious unity in Europe.³⁵² This also marks a change in the Trinitarian imagery of enthronement over enemies of the faith to the Trinity enthroned in heaven as a representation of the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." (compare Figs. 15 and 2) Universalism had always been a tenet of Christianity; however, after the Age of Discovery this concept could become a reality on an unprecedented scale. As a potentiality it appeared so awesome that it seemed to portend the end of the world and the Last Judgment. A dream of one world-wide religion, achieved by the willing conversion of all peoples to Christianity, took hold during

³⁵¹ Sylvest, p. 16, quoting Zavala, pp. 6-7.

³⁵² Surfacing during the Crusades, this wish was current again in the Spain of the reconquista. See Adriano Prosperi, "New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and Propaganda at the Time of the Discovery and Conquest of the Americas," Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period, Marjorie Reeves (ed.), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 284-5.

the sixteenth century. This goal was allied with the earlier focus on the extermination of enemies, especially the infidel and the heathen, which had been the Christian goal from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. Their hope was for a world-wide religion, which early missionaries to the Americas like the friar Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525-1604) an important chronicler of post-conquest Mexico, yearned to establish in this "new" land.

This apocalyptic universalism is expressed in Psalm 45:1-3,

O clap your hands, all ye nations: shout unto God with the voice of joy, for the Lord is high, terrible: a great king over all the earth. He hath subdued the people under us: and the nations under our feet... God shall reign over the nations.

Christopher Columbus singled out this Psalm for special attention when he composed his book of prophecies, Libro de las profecías, in 1501-02, to explain and justify his "discovery" and conquest of the Americas.³⁵³ Its language, related to that of Psalm 109, had also been adapted during the Medieval period for use in adventus ceremonies, demonstrating that this ancient ceremony of triumph and reception was considered newly appropriate for the Americas.³⁵⁴ In fact, the adventus ceremony was staged

³⁵³ West and Kling, p. 117. "Subiecit populos nobis et gentes sub pedibus nostris.."

³⁵⁴ The French Abbey of Saint-Yrieix, near Limoges, made use of this psalm in its adventus ceremonies. "Ad regem ducendum. Benedictus deus patrum tuorum faciens

just after Cortes conquered the Aztec empire in 1521 as well as throughout the Spanish Americas whenever conquest occurred. Columbus himself was honored with a triumph in every city he passed through in Spain when he returned from his second voyage to the Americas in 1493. When he reached the capital, the Catholic monarchs greeted him with an adventus ceremony. Accompanied by Native Americans, as well as exotic vegetables, birds and animals, Columbus was received under a canopy of state by Ferdinand and Isabella, who then asked Columbus to be ceremonially seated before them.³⁵⁵

Not only did Columbus find special meaning in Psalm 45, but it is also related to the Drama of the Virtues Miracle Play, since the protagonists of Truth, Meekness and Justice, the daughters of God, (Verse 5) are illustrated as personifications, just as in this play. An example can be found in the Utrecht Psalter. (Fig. 58) The Virtues are located in a palace behind a covered throne in the upper register of the illumination. The king stands beside this throne, crowned and trampling a foe; imagery very much like that used in Psalm 23 and 109 illustrations, as

miseriordiam cum domo patris tui sit dominus deus tuus tecum detque omnes inimicos tuos sub pedibus tuis et stabiliat regnum tuum in pace, ut per te nomen magnum glorificetur in saecula..." (my emphasis) Quoted in Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina." (note #12, p. 209)

³⁵⁵ Prescott, volume II, pp. 162-65.

already observed. This is corroborated in the New Testament as a testimony that Christ shall reign most gloriously when "He hath put all enemies under His feet" (Cor. 1:25). The Hand of God appears from heaven above the palace and consecrates the king by pouring oil on his head, while in the lowest register on the left an archer shoots at a throng of enemies. Psalm 45 and its Utrecht Psalter illumination verifies the close association which this study has been tracing between the Psalms, conquest over enemies of the faith, the adventus ritual and the Drama of the Virtues miracle play. This matrix functioned as a theological underpinning to help justify the conquest and colonization of the Americas.

Substantiating his belief that an important stage of scriptural revelation had been fulfilled with the discovery of new lands and new peoples, Columbus's book gathered together prophecies which concerned the enlargement of the Church through the discovery and evangelization of all the world's nations.³⁵⁶ A student of the Bible, Columbus consulted patristic sources and respected Medieval and contemporary theologians as well as the enlisting the assistance of a Carthusian monk, Father Gaspar Gorricio, in compiling his manuscript.³⁵⁷ His

³⁵⁶ Columbus, quoted in West and Kling, p. 29 and p. 80.

³⁵⁷ West and Kling, p. 29.

reliance upon prophecies completely accords with the context of European thought at this time; the crisis within Christianity marked by the struggle between Martin Luther and Rome was accompanied by a burgeoning of oracles and trust in the occult.³⁵⁸

The Psalms played an important part in the Admiral's book in which eighty-three are included with many singled out for special attention. Columbus inferred that Ferdinand was the new David, the composer of the Psalms, a prophecy currently popular in Spain, promoted by Arnold of Villanova.³⁵⁹

The Bible proved his understanding of the conquest, since Columbus believed that he was opening up new lands for the gospel mission which had been foreordained in such passages as, "Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage" (Psalm 2:8).³⁶⁰ This idea was similarly voiced in the New Testament, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations" (Matt. 28:18f).³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ Prosperi, p. 295.

³⁵⁹ See West and Kling, p. 62.

³⁶⁰ Columbus, who considered himself to be both a crusader and a missionary, posited that the Messianic prophecy found in Psalm 2 should not be interpreted allegorically, instead he accepted its prophecies literally. This process followed Augustine's explication. See West and Kling, p. 237.

³⁶¹ For the congruence of these two passages, see Mays, p. 51.

Columbus's Libro de las profecías was a personal compendium of the Biblical passages which particularly concerned the liberation of Mount Sion, or Jerusalem (the fervent Christian hope for the previous eight hundred years), the conversion of the Gentiles, and the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem.³⁶² These actions would be effected, dreamed Columbus, through the riches of the Indies.³⁶³ He felt that he was a kind of Messiah:

God made me the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth of which he spoke in the Apocalypse of St. John after having spoken of it through the mouth of Isaiah; and he showed me the spot where to find it.³⁶⁴

The fortuituous combination of definitive events circa A.D. 1500, the half millenium, were assumed to portend the end of the world.³⁶⁵ Augustine interpreted this passage concerning the "new heaven and new earth" in terms of the end of the world and the final enthronement of Christ.³⁶⁶

This apocalyptic theory also has a basis in the eschatology of Joachim of Fiore, (born in Celico, Calabria,

³⁶² When Columbus had assembled information to convince the Spanish monarchs to back his expedition, he used three arguments components: current scientific theory and knowledge, practical marine expertise, and biblical prophecy. The latter was what finally induced Isabella and Ferdinand to support his voyages, against the advice of their academic counsellors. See West and Kling, p. 13.

³⁶³ Phelan, p. 22.

³⁶⁴ Quoted in Kagan, p. 60

³⁶⁵ Phelan, p. 23.

³⁶⁶ Augustine, The City of God, p. 735.

ca. 1135) who is cited seven times in the Libro de las profecías, especially in relation to the Admiral's veneration of the Trinity and reliance upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit.³⁶⁷ Joachim's insight was that history was manifested in a threefold pattern, based upon members of the Trinity, and that the Age of the Holy Spirit, which had begun with the life of St. Francis of Assisi, was the final epoch of history.

Columbus had a special devotion to the Trinity and undertook all of his voyages in their name.³⁶⁸

So, since our Redeemer has given this triumph to our most illustrious king and queen, and to their renowned realms, in so great a matter, for all of this Christendom should feel joyful and make great celebrations and give solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity with many solemn prayers for the great exaltation which it will have in the salvation of so many peoples to our holy faith.³⁶⁹

This statement was written by Columbus aboard the Niña in a letter to the king and queen of Spain on his first homeward voyage from the Americas, revealing the central position of the Trinity within his spirituality. The Genoese Admiral believed that the Triune Deity had favored the Spanish

³⁶⁷ West and Kling, p. 30. Joachim originally became a Cistercian, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but soon diverged from the Cistercian path and was allowed, with papal support, to form his own Order of St. Giovanni in Fiore in 1196. See Reeves, Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future, preface.

³⁶⁸ West and Kling, p. 48.

³⁶⁹ Columbus, quoted in West and Kling, p. 46.

monarchs through the success of this voyage. Columbus's third voyage was entirely devoted to the Trinity, a manifestation that his devotion had almost become an obsession.³⁷⁰ The first landfall appeared on the horizon as three mountains, confirming his allegiance and he named this land Trinidad.³⁷¹ Because his own name meant "Christ-bearer," he felt that he was divinely appointed to carry out the task of beginning the new era of prophesied expansion of the church. Widening his appellation of "Christ-bearer" to the entire Trinity, he began to write his signature in the form of a triangle.

Adopting a Trinitarian structure of history, Joachim of Fiore had earlier envisioned the three ages of the "Spiritual Church," as well as the three ages of man. Believing that humanity would grow more perfect as historical time unfolds, Joachim posited that during the Third Age, which was also the Age of Discovery, all men would have an angelic nature and would live in apostolic poverty. His expectation was one of the sources of inspiration out of which grew not only the utopian ideas of the Renaissance, but also the terrestrial paradise of the Age of Discovery surmised to have been found in the Americas. The stimulating discoveries, revival of classical scholarship, invention of the printing press and

³⁷⁰ West and Kling, p. 59.

³⁷¹ West and Kling, p. 7.

creation of new religious orders which occurred during the Renaissance were seen as the fulfillment of old expectations and a portent of a religious renovatio, eagerly sought by many Christians at this time.³⁷²

In the most famous oration of the Renaissance, On the Dignity of Man, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola revealed a similar optimism about humanity's capabilities: "Man was born...to know the divine things and to dominate all things under the heavens." Pico knew the works of Joachim and studied the cabala, a mystical, hermetic element which played an important role in Renaissance thought. Every avenue of knowledge, including the occult--alchemy, magic, astrology, prophecy--was plumbed for knowledge of "the divine things." Platonism was also looked upon as a critical instrument for a complete renewal of Christian theology and the means to open up a glorious new epoch of human history.³⁷³ Marsilio Ficino, the most brilliant of these Renaissance neo-Platonists, published the first Latin version of the Corpus Hermeticum in 1463. It was a compendium of treatises on the occult sciences, proving to be very influential for two centuries.³⁷⁴ These mystical

³⁷² Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: a Study of Joachimism, p. 507.

³⁷³ Reeves, Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future, p. 84.

³⁷⁴ See Joanne Snow-Smith, The Primavera of Sandro Botticelli: A Neoplatonic Interpretation, foreward by Carlo Pedretti, (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), Chapter 1.

ideas, part of the conceptual framework of the Renaissance as well as of interpreters and followers of Joachim of Fiore, such as the Spiritual Franciscans, fueled apocalyptic expectations which influenced Columbus and many of the first Franciscan missionaries who arrived in the Americas in the early sixteenth century.³⁷⁵

The sack of Rome in 1527 by Charles V came as a portent of cosmic importance which accorded with Joachist prophecies; many felt that it occurred because of the decadence of the Roman Curia and Charles was thought to be acting as an agent of God who would help to set needed reform in motion.³⁷⁶

Influenced by Joachite dreams of a renovatio mundi, as were the Italian Platonists, the Spanish monarchs did institute a series of church reforms. These were entrusted to the most influential Spiritual Franciscan of the time, Ximénez de Cisneros, confessor to Queen Isabella after 1492, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain. The Spiritual movement within the Franciscan Order had developed during the thirteenth century and was quite influenced by the ideas of Joachim of Fiore.³⁷⁷ During the late fifteenth century the Spiritualists went from being a

³⁷⁵ West and Kling, pp. 30-1.

³⁷⁶ Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: a Study of Joachimism, p. 448.

³⁷⁷ Although Joachim was eventually declared a heretic, his influence was strong for several centuries.

marginal group to occupying a dominant position within the Spanish church.³⁷⁰ Ximénez initiated a purging reformation of the church in anticipation of the establishment of a new Jerusalem.³⁷¹ The Spanish Jews and Muslims were especially vulnerable in this zealous milieu. In 1492 the Jews were expelled and in 1498 Ximénez instituted the policy which forced the Muslims of Granada to convert.³⁸⁰ Ferdinand and Isabella had already set up the Spanish Inquisition beginning in 1478 to investigate heresy among the conversos (converted Jews). Pope Sixtus IV gave the Spanish monarchy royal control over this institution, normally under papal authority.³⁸¹ Given this exceptional jurisdiction by the crown, the Inquisition, or Holy Office, was used by Ferdinand to increase his royal prerogative. However, although political motivation was certainly an important component in these actions, they must also be understood within the context of Franciscan Spiritual beliefs. The conversion of the Jews, the spiritual

³⁷⁰ The Spiritualist contingent are called the Observants, because they believe in a strict interpretation of St. Francis's vow of poverty. Since the other contingent, the Conventual Franciscans, did not interpret the meaning of poverty this way, a bitter struggle ensued. Phelan, p. 6 and 43.

³⁷¹ Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: a Study of Joachimism, p. 446.

³⁸⁰ Kagan, p. 58.

³⁸¹ This desire for royal prerogative was at the request of the Spanish monarchs. Kagan, p. 58.

conquest of Islam and the liberation of Jerusalem were seen as a prelude to the millennium and the second coming of Christ.³⁰² A medius adventus was longed for, a Second Coming, halfway between the Incarnation and the Last Judgment.³⁰³ Columbus interpreted these events within the context of his voyages of discovery and conquest, writing in his journal, "So, after having expelled all the Jews from all of your kingdoms and dominions, in the same month of January Your Highnesses commanded me to go, with a suitable fleet, to the said regions of India."³⁰⁴ The negative stereotyping of the Jews was used to justify many violent and ruthless aspects of the conquest of the Americas, since the theory was advanced that the peoples of the Americas were actually the ten lost tribes of Israel which had been deported to Assyria (Kings 2:17).³⁰⁵

Spanish apocalyptic writers, including Columbus, saw Ferdinand and Isabella as the new Messiahs and calculated the millennium as very imminent, in fact only several decades away.³⁰⁶ The fact that the Catholic monarchs recaptured Granada from the Andalusian Muslims and expelled the Jews in 1492, the same year that Columbus

³⁰² Kagan, p. 60.

³⁰³ Prosperi, p. 295.

³⁰⁴ Quoted in Kagan, p. 60.

³⁰⁵ Prosperi, pp. 291-2.

³⁰⁶ West and Kling, p. 33.

sailed to the Americas, lent support to his prophetic theories. The religious conquest of the Americas was carried out under the influence of Franciscan Spiritual beliefs. It should be noted that the friars were already the fervent evangelists of Spain, since they had preached to the Jews and Muslims during the reconquista.³⁰⁷

There is a drawing attributed to Italian artist Lazzaro Tavarone (1556-1641) entitled "Apotheosis of Columbus" which is an allegory of the voyages of discovery. (Fig. 59) It shows the melding of sacred and secular adventus in the theological context of the Age of Discovery. The pen and ink sketch shows the admiral seated with Providence in a triumphal vehicle crossing the Atlantic ocean. Both figures have their feet planted firmly on a globe, which is the same posture in relationship to the globes found in many of the synthronos illustrations under consideration. This imagery has its basis in Psalm 23(24) "The earth is the Lord's."³⁰⁸ The boat, pulled by Constancy and Tolerance and pushed by Religion, is plowing under Envy and Ignorance, monstri superati. This drawing has Columbus's signature and was attached to a letter written by him to Nicolo Oderigo, the

³⁰⁷ Prosperi, p. 291.

³⁰⁸ Thomas Aquinas affirmed that he shall reign more gloriously when that same "earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." Quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 2, p. 134.

Ambassador to the Spanish court. However, the sketch is not believed to be Columbus's work but to have been created by Tavarone, despite the signature. It was very likely produced as a preliminary drawing for a proposed fresco by Tavarone, who had studied in Spain and was well-known for decorating Genoese palaces with scenes of the "discovery" of the Americas. This is clearly an updated triumphal vehicle for the intrepid Admiral and his companion, Providence, as they make their way across the ocean, symbolizing the belief that the voyages of discovery are to be understood within the age-old context of Roman imperial ceremony and imagery. Furthermore, the Virtues and Vices are active participants, just as they often are in the Trinitarian imagery under consideration.

The "City of God" in the Americas

Augustine's "City of God", the new Jerusalem, was a realm which Columbus attested that he had found in the Americas, ruled over by the Triune Deity. To explain this idea, both he and his advisor Gorritio followed the traditional four-fold method of exegesis to analyze the term Jerusalem: 1) literal, the city which the pilgrims visited; 2) allegorical, the Church Militant; 3) moral or tropological, the soul; and 4) anagogical, the Church

Triumphant, or the "City of God".³⁹⁹

The "New World" as the "City of God" was an idea and a myth which not only the Genoese admiral, but also the missionary friars yearned to realize. A terrestrial paradise, it was thought of as the geographical theater in which the ideas of the "Old World" could be more freely applied and perfected. The most important missionary chronicler in sixteenth-century Mexico was the friar Bernardino de Sahagún, whose theology was steeped in the works of Augustine.⁴⁰⁰ He also expressed hope and expectation that a new apostolic age was beginning which would be realized in the Americas. Augustine had written, concerning the Trinity and its revelation through the creation, "In this, too, is the origin, the enlightenment, the blessedness of the Holy City which is above among the holy angels."⁴⁰¹ This is a very significant textual source for the appearance of the imagery of the Trinity which is so often found in the celestial zone of Spanish American altarpieces.

The king of Spain, considered to be the new King David, was regarded by most of the Franciscans as the chief apostolic missionary of Spain's universal monarchy. His

³⁹⁹ Augustine, Honorius of Autun and Aquinas all used the four-fold exegesis of Scripture. See Phelan for Gorritio's process, p. 20.

⁴⁰⁰ Prosperi, pp. 293-4.

⁴⁰¹ Augustine, The City of God, Book XI, p. 369.

mission was to establish and reign over the "City of God" on earth, peopled by the mendicant friars and the Native Americans.³⁹² For the missionary friar Mendieta, the cult of apostolic poverty endorsed by the Spirituals was a vital element in establishing Augustine's "City of God" in the Americas. The friar saw strong parallels between the Jews of the Old Testament and the Native peoples of Mexico, sharing the belief that the Indians were the descendants of the Jews.³⁹³ He compared the preconquest period of Mexico to the time of the Egyptian sojourn of the people of Israel and Moses was considered to be the prototype for Cortes. Since Mendieta regarded the Spanish nation as the successor of the chosen people of Israel, its history in the Americas was considered to be the working out of salvation history. The Spanish people were thought to be heirs, not to the profane history of the Greco-Roman world, but to the sacred history of the Old Testament. As was stated in the Psalms, the Spanish armies of the conquest, like those of the reconquista, were like the forces of a new Israel who were given victory against their enemies by divine sanction. One echo of Joachimite doctrines can be found in Mendieta's idea of the angelic personality of the Indian, reinforcing the beatific nature of this newly found terrestrial paradise. Mendieta considered the Spanish

³⁹² Phelan, p. 51.

³⁹³ My discussion of Mendieta is based upon Phelan.

monarchs as the greatest of the New Testament princes, likening them to Constantine, Justinian and Charlemagne. He also believed that Charles V, King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, was the Promised One, the Messiah-World Ruler, who was decreed to convert all the infidels on the eve of the Last Judgment.³⁹⁴ Spain's central position in combatting the Reformation, defending Europe against the Turks, and converting the peoples of the Americas was seen as the fulfillment of prophecies.

While in France the Messiah myth had been focused on Charlemagne, Mendieta believed that the Spanish nation was the means by which the millennial kingdom was to come.³⁹⁵ The term "millennial" derives from John's vision of Satan bound for a thousand years (Rev. 20:1-3).

...I am firmly convinced that as those Catholic Monarchs [Ferdinand and Isabella] were granted the mission of beginning to extirpate those three diabolical squadrons "perfidious" Judaism, "false Mohammedanism" and "blind" idolatry along with the fourth squadron of the heretics whose remedy and medicine is the Holy Inquisition, ...that as

³⁹⁴ This had been a Jewish, French and German preoccupation, a willingness to subsume nationalism into ideas of universal sovereignty. The Messiah-Emperor mythology of the Medieval period was transferred in the sixteenth century to the person of Charles V, whose hegemony over the Spanish kingdoms, the Holy Roman Empire and enormous colonies in the Americas fostered this belief. This conceptual framework had developed out of the Messiah traditions of the Jews and the oracles of the sibyls of Rome, joined into the belief system of Christianity. Phelan, pp. 11-12.

³⁹⁵ Although Philip II, Charles' successor, did not wear the imperial crown, he certainly governed over the largest empire the world had ever known.

Ferdinand and Isabella cleansed Spain of these wicked sects, in like manner their royal descendants will accomplish the universal destruction of these sects throughout the whole world and the final conversion of all the peoples of the earth to the bosom of the church.³⁹⁶

Like Columbus, Mendieta interpreted the discovery and conquest of the Americas as the fulfillment of the prophecies of the apocalypse.³⁹⁷ This friar believed that the Americas could be the religious arena where the ultimate chapter in, not only the history of the mendicant orders, but also the history of mankind, would unfold. Mendieta's writing makes it clear that this comprehensive vision was tied to the extermination of all other religions and heterodox interpretations of Christianity. He believed that the mendicant friars were presented with the exceptional possibility of creating, on the eve of the end of the world, an earthly paradise where an entire continent would be devoted to evangelical poverty.³⁹⁸ This utopian vision of a Heavenly City on earth ruled over by the Trinity would be represented in the retablos and retablo-façades of the churches which were rapidly being constructed in the Americas.

The retablo was an image of the heavenly order and a visual representation of Christian theology and history.

³⁹⁶ Mendieta, Historia, p. 18. Quoted in Phelan, p. 13.

³⁹⁷ Phelan, p. 17.

³⁹⁸ Phelan, p. 55.

It was used for didactic purposes, a function which was especially important in the Americas, given the challenge of language differences. Reigning over the top was either the Trinity or God the Father wearing a papal tiara, also signifying the Triune Deity and the universal power of the Catholic Church. The structure of the retablo was divided both horizontally and vertically into three components to house both painting and sculpture. The significance of the altarpiece in Spanish colonial art cannot be over-estimated. Generally filling the entire apse wall of the church, the retablo was a complex structure displaying virtuosity in many different media, painting, sculpture and architectural elements, that retained its central importance in the Spanish empire throughout the entire colonial period.

One of the earliest and most important examples of a sixteenth-century retablo which survives in Mexico is found at Huejotzingo, completed in 1586. (Fig. 60) Painted by Simon Pereyng, sculpted by Luis de Arciniega, it is an excellent example of the combination of pure Renaissance form and plateresque (silversmith-like) decorative details. Structurally as well as iconographically the retablo is a powerful synthesis, presenting a unified theological program.³³³ The complete

³³³ See Francisco de la Maza, "Simbolismo del Retablo de Huejotzingo," Artes de México 106 (1968), pp. 26-7. Also see Tovar de Teresa, pp. 282-316.

edifice is composed into groupings of three which are then subdivided into a triangular organization within each level. Thus an overriding triune organization pervades the retablo which symbolizes the Trinitarian structure of the Christian faith. (Fig. 61) The base of the Huejotzingo retablo rests upon the four Doctors of the Church who conceptualized its theological foundations as well as defined its orthodox positions: Augustine, Gregory, Peter Damian and Ambrose. Augustine is particularly important in this context, because his "City of God" was believed to be in formation in Mexico at this time, as this study has demonstrated. Holding a small image of a church in his right hand and a globe in his left, his sculpture epitomizes the union of these two elements--universal power and the Roman church.

Upper levels of this retablo mayor depict Francis of Assisi, Dominic of Guzman, Anthony, the Virgin Mary and other foundation persons and events in the Christian story. The omnipotent God the Father with an orb of universal sovereignty and a triangular nimbus indicating the Trinity dominates the remate. Three aspects of Christ during his Passion are immediately below: Christ at the column, the Crucifixion and the three falls on the road to Calvary. This Trinitarian geometric symbolism and theological synthesis will be carried out in most of the elaborate retablos of the Spanish Americas.

Cortés and the Adventus Ritual in Mexico

At the time they [Franciscans] arrived in this city the most illustrious Lord Governor Don Hernán Cortés went out with a large number of Spaniards and Indian principales to receive them. He dismounted from his horse and knelt before the one who had come as prelate (who was called Fray Martín de Valencia) and demanded his hand, by which in a great way the Indians were edified and the esteem of the friars was achieved.⁴⁰⁰

As this passage confirms, Cortés staged the adventus ritual to welcome the "Twelve" Franciscans into the homeland of the defeated Aztecs in 1524. The number of friars was chosen in conscious imitation of Christ's twelve Apostles who were sent out to convert all nations of the earth. In this new context they were to deliver the native peoples from the oppression of idolatry and cannibalism.⁴⁰¹ This was the second contingent of missionaries to arrive in New Spain, the first were three in number, chosen to parallel the Trinity. Cortés was accompanied by his most important officials and soldiers as well as by native Mexican dignitaries.⁴⁰² Advancing five hundred paces on his knees towards the friars, the conqueror of Mexico took off his hat, and threw down his cape for their leader Fray Martín

⁴⁰⁰ Sahagún, Colloquios, p. 50.

⁴⁰¹ Other analogies were drawn between the sending of the Twelve from Europe and God's guiding of Abraham out of Ur. Other parallels were the fact that the Twelve departed from Europe on the day commemorating St. Paul's conversion and the day of their arrival was the vigil of the Holy Spirit. See Sylvest, p. 94.

⁴⁰² McAndrew, p. 31.

de Valencia to walk on, in symbolic reenactment of the Entry into Jerusalem on the first Palm Sunday.⁴⁰³ Cortés made an important change in this ritual: he, himself, welcomed the friars, when it was customary for the religious personnel to receive the secular leaders. This was necessitated by the fact that the military conquest had to occur before the missionaries could arrive. Cortés played the part of the hebraeorum pueri who typically appeared in the medieval liturgical plays re-enacting the events of Palm Sunday.⁴⁰⁴ Kneeling, the conquistador kissed the hands of the "Twelve" and attempted to kiss the hem of their garments, followed by the other Spanish and Native Americans persons present. This ritual kissing by the Native American caciques (rulers) was an important element in the traditional adventus ceremony and it initiated the conquered chieftains into the lower echelon of the hierarchy of this newly established colonial society.

Documentation was provided by Bernal Díaz del Castillo and López de Gómara, both of whom were present. The ritual was analyzed later in the sixteenth century by the Franciscan friars Gerónimo de Mendieta, Bernardino de

⁴⁰³ McAndrew, p. 31.

⁴⁰⁴ Phelan, p. 34. Torquemada, a sixteenth-century friar, did compare the entry of the "Twelve" with Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.

Sahagún, and by Juan de Torquemada.⁴⁰⁵ Mendieta interpreted Cortés's adventus enactment as the greatest single act performed by him in New Spain.⁴⁰⁶ Sahagún shared Mendieta's sense of the significance of Cortés's action. The "advent" of the Twelve heralded the dawn of the "City of God" in the Americas.⁴⁰⁷

It was the desire of Cortés to make a deep impression upon the Native Americans who witnessed this ceremony. Since the mighty conqueror of Mexico bent to pay homage to these barefoot and ragged friars, it was clear that they must be great men indeed. The native Mesoamerican priests had been exceptionally disciplined and revered and Cortés wanted the Mexicans to transfer this homage to the mendicants. Furthermore, ritual had been a very important part of native Mexican religious observance. This ceremony was an effective way to help solidify Cortés's political control over the recently conquered peoples of Mexico.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁵ See Phelan, p. 34.

⁴⁰⁶ Sylvest, p. 91.

⁴⁰⁷ The scene was painted on mural decoration at Ozumba and Tlalmanalco.

⁴⁰⁸ Quoted in Phelan, p. 33. That this action was analogous to other ecclesiastical adventus ceremonies of the Spanish theocracy is confirmed by the comments of the Mexican Franciscan Torquemada, "...an action almost like the one the Catholic Monarchs performed at the consecration of the Archbishop of Toledo, Friar Francisco Ximénez, when they kissed his hand and he gave them his paternal blessing, and their example was followed by all the nobles and lords who were present."

Since these rituals were considered not only drama, but the constitutional receptions of royalty,⁴⁰⁹ Cortés looked on them as quasi-legal actions.

This ceremony must have been completely alien to the Aztecs and other Nahuatl-speaking people witnessing it not only because of a language barrier--itself a major problem--but because the Mesoamerican cosmology was vastly different from the Spanish Christian belief system.⁴¹⁰ Mesoamericans posited that the duality of complementary, interdependent forces, such as life and death, day and night, light and dark, wet and dry, was the essential nature of the cosmos.⁴¹¹ Out of this duality came a division of the earth's surface into four great quadrants, spatial symbolism which was operative throughout not only Mesoamerica, but also South America.⁴¹² Thus the numbers

⁴⁰⁹ See Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," p. 211.

⁴¹⁰ Nahuatl, the Aztec language, became the lingua franca of the Aztec empire, composed of tributary communities dominated by Tenochtitlán, the capital city.

⁴¹¹ In spite of important regional differences with respect to mythology, religious forms, rituals and iconography, the underlying world view and basic cultural patterns were similar throughout much of Mesoamerica and so it is appropriate to group these cultures together and attempt to understand their cosmology.

⁴¹² These concepts extend into the American Southwest, the northernmost site of Mesoamerican culture. For an excellent introduction to this cosmology see Armand J. Labbé, Religion, Art and Iconography: Man and Cosmos in Prehispanic Mesoamerica, (Santa Ana, California: Bowers Museum Foundation, 1982), p. 36.

two and four were the foundation of life--not the number three, expressed through the Christian Trinity.

Five was also a critical number, because it was related to the symbolism of the temple. This sacred structure, understood to be both cave and womb, was situated at the world center, which was both an entrance to the underworld and mediator with the upper world. The quincunx, a five-pointed symbol, was a ubiquitous symbol in Mesoamerica and was developed to symbolize the inter-relatedness of the four quadrants of the earth with underworld and upper world through the axis-mundi. The symbol of sacred space, the quincunx also signified the whirling of time.

What seemed to the missionaries to be an grotesque cosmology and an indistinguishable array of gods and goddesses, which they termed "demons," are simply complex expressions of an underlying entity, giving structure and coherence to Mesoamerican cosmology. These elaborate manifestations of the numinous, which echo the intricacy of existence, emanate from Ometeotl, the supreme dual god, including both male and female, as well as life and death. Ometeotl gave birth to four offspring, of which Texcatlipoca "smoking mirror" was a powerful creative force especially revered by the Aztecs and allied with darkness, shamanic magic and the jaguar. Quetzalcoatl, Toltec priest-king and deity, was the feathered serpent, uniting

earth and sky. The shamanic and animal associations of this cosmology was almost incomprehensible to the Spanish; their response, waged with the adventus ritual and synthronos image as well as cannon and gunpowder, was to destroy what they could not understand. The Trinitarian motif in question must have seemed a perfect solution because it had no animal or bird associations and visually signified the complex three-in-one concept. It also reinforced themes of conquest and universal sovereignty deemed so important to the friars.

When staging the triumphal entry of the twelve Franciscans, Cortés had given prominence to the friars. However, in an earlier adventus, he had orchestrated his own glorification. This dramatic ceremony, "The Encounter of Cortés and Moctezuma," was painted circa 1683 on a biombo (a folding screen) which is attributed to Juan Correa, a noted Mexican Baroque artist. Biombos were the most important type of furniture produced during the viceregal period and their format was copied from a Japanese screen brought to New Spain in 1614.⁴¹³ Cortés's triumphal adventus as conqueror is depicted on the right of the screen. (Fig. 62) Because of its subject as well as the fact that historical painting was uncommon in New Spain, this biombo is a very important document. It

⁴¹³ Martínez del Río de Redo, Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries, p. 422.

portrays the moment when Moctezuma relinquished his realm to Charles V through his representative Cortés. Bernal Díaz del Castillo provided an eyewitness description to this latter-day adventus ceremony. Moctezuma (on the left of the biombo) is dressed like a Roman emperor and is seated on a golden throne overhung with a canopy. (Fig. 63) Wearing a paludamentum (royal purple cloak) knotted at his right shoulder and hung over his left arm, Roman lion-shaped shoulder epaulets, and greaves on his legs, he also holds a large flywisk or fan of quetzal feathers, and wears a majestic crown surmounted by a dove of peace.⁴¹⁴ The conquered emperor's throne rests on the shoulders of his chieftains, wearing, like the leader himself, a mixture of European and Aztec costuming. To the right of this retinue are illustrated other important personages of the defeated Aztec state, including provincial rulers and ceremonial dancers. Although Moctezuma is presented in majestic regalia, this is not to be interpreted as accurately depicting his status after conquest because it was a European convention to clothe defeated monarchs in the regalia of a Roman emperor. Thus, his elevated status shows what a prize the Spaniards had captured. Since they have brought the mighty emperor of the imperial Aztecs under their thumb their own prestige is enhanced. In this

⁴¹⁴ Maríta Martínez del Ríó de Redo, Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries, pp. 424-5.

way a sense of the dignity and power of the pre-Conquest Aztecs is preserved for the conquerors' purposes.

On the right of the biombo Cortés is announced by a trumpeter on horseback who is followed by a halberdier. An ensign astride a white horse carrying the standard of Castile comes next, along with a soldier carrying a half-pike. Cortés is mounted on his horse, holding a royal scepter in his hand, which is identical to the ones illustrated so often in the synthronos Trinity imagery in question. He is accompanied by the Mercedarian friar Bartolomé de Olmedo and many soldiers. A great flotilla of canoes filled with people who came to witness the event is in the background. The triumphal entrance of Cortés and his retinue is contrasted with Moctezuma's and the Aztec Empire's defeat. This is symbolized by a forsaken environment of threatening rain clouds, turbulent waters, windblown trees and deserted buildings.

The reverse of the biombo represents another allegory which symbolizes the subjugation of the known world to the Spanish crown, called "The Four Continents." (Figs. 64 and 65) The Spanish king Charles II and his first wife Marie-Louise d'Orléans, wearing a fleur-de-lis gown, are portrayed, both holding scepters. This screen was very likely painted at the time of their marriage in 1683, since such milestones were the occasion for very extravagant secular and religious festivities throughout the Spanish

empire.⁴¹⁵ At these times royal portraits were sent by the court to every large city in the viceroyalty, one of which provided Correa with likenesses of the king and queen.⁴¹⁶

The Spanish Hapsburgs, with their aspirations of worldwide dominance, favored the allegorical theme of the Four Continents.⁴¹⁷ This subject became popular during the Counter-Reformation, serving as a reminder of the universal extension of the Catholic faith.⁴¹⁸ A related theme was the "Triumph of Christ the King with the Four Continents," represented in an oil painting from Peru, the Cuzco school, eighteenth century. (Fig. 66) Christ, crowned and holding a scepter, rides in an ornate triumphal chariot attended by personifications of the four continents. Originating with Petrarch's trionfi, this motif was another

⁴¹⁵ This representation is based on a series of four French engravings by F. de Witt, which were themselves possibly inspired by lost paintings of Charles Lebrun (1619-60). See Elena Isabel e. de Gerlero, Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries, p. 427.

⁴¹⁶ The importance of this historical event and the fact that the screen has a floral border which is comparable to contemporary Flemish tapestries helps to confirm that the biombo had a similar function to that of royal tapestries in the palaces of Vice-Regal Mexico. See Martínez del Río de Redo, Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries, p. 427. It is of interest that a related Spanish tapestry commissioned at the time of a royal wedding depicts as its central motif the identical Trinity crowning the Virgin, (to be discussed in Chapter VII).

⁴¹⁷ Charles II commissioned other "Four Continents" paintings from Claudio Coello, Luca Giordano and Antonio Palomino. See Isabel e. de Gerlero, Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries, p. 427.

⁴¹⁸ Hall, p. 129.

part of the ritual of victory and conquest, such as the adventus and synthronos, taken over from Imperial Rome which had originally depicted the emperor's triumphal entry. (Fig. 12) During the Renaissance, and especially popular in Antwerp beginning in the sixteenth century, the continents were often personified in processions for triumphal entries of royalty. When the heir to the Spanish throne, Prince Philip (later Philip II) made his adventus into Antwerp in 1549, the continents knelt in homage to him in a tableau vivant.⁴¹⁹

A ceremony was enacted even earlier than the adventus ritual of 1524, documented by Sahagun. This has not received much attention from scholars, although it was clearly an important part of the Mexican post-conquest theater of power. When the Aztecs surrendered to the Spaniards, the synthronos ritual was staged. Hernán Cortés and other Spanish military leaders went to the rooftop garden of the leader called Coyohuehuetzin, where a throne and canopy for the triune leadership of Mexico, including both Spanish and Aztec, was made ready. "When the Captain was seated, the lord of Mexico, Cuauhtemoc, sat on his right hand, and beside him sat the lord of Texcoco,

⁴¹⁹ María Manzari Cohen, Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America, Donna Fane (ed.), (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), p. 234.

Coanacotzin."⁴²⁰ Sahagún specifically uses the term "held court" to describe this ritual enthronement. Its primary purpose was to set up another system of tribute, now owed to the Spaniards, rather than to the Aztecs, and to discuss changes in the administration of this newly conquered Spanish colony.⁴²¹

The "discovery" and conquest itself had begun with the ritual enthronement of Cortés, enacted to fool the Aztec emissaries of Moctezuma into believing that he was Quetzalcoatl, the Toltec priest and Deity. Details of this god's prophesied return uncannily corresponded to aspects of the Spanish arrival off the coast of Veracruz: the heavens seemed to concur, since signs and omens such as comets and mysterious fires were reported during the two years preceding the European arrival.⁴²² When coming to greet the Spanish for the first time, the Native peoples paddled their canoes out to meet the ships saying, "...they were Mexicans, that they came from Mexico in search of their lord and king, Quetzalcoatl, and that they knew he

⁴²⁰ Bernardino de Sahagún, Conquest of New Spain, 1585 revision, translated by Howard F. Cline, edited and with an introduction and notes by S.L. Cline, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), p. 139.

⁴²¹ Another important purpose of this assembly was to question the leaders of Mexico about the looted gold, jewels and precious stones which the Spaniards had lost when they retreated from Tenochtitlán, in an attempt to retrieve it. Sahagún, pp. 140-2.

⁴²² For this phenomenon, see Sahagún, p. 31.

was there."⁴²³ Cortés and his compatriots were astonished, but after some consideration, decided that they could use this mistake to their own advantage. Cortés enthroned himself inside the quarterdeck and played the part of heavenly monarch, while the Aztecs plied him with gifts, costumes and treasures of gold and precious stones. The confusion of the Aztecs about Moctezuma would greatly assist the Spaniards in their eventual conquest of Mexico.

Analysis of Mexican Synthronos Trinities

Since New Testament derivations of Psalm 109 symbolized in both text and imagery Augustine's mystical "City of God," a Christian utopian paradise believed to have been found in the Americas ruled over by the Trinity, this New Jerusalem is represented in its church altarpieces. The program of the retablo mayor (main altarpiece) and retablo façade⁴²⁴ (façade program) depicted this vision of the community of apostles, saints and martyrs dominated by either the Trinity or God the Father. Because the image of God wearing a papal tiara was considered to denote the Trinity and the universal church, these were synonymous portrayals.⁴²⁵

⁴²³ Sahagún, p. 41.

⁴²⁴ See Donna Pierce, Cambios, p. 80.

⁴²⁵ Hall, pp. 13-14.

The main features of the synthronos Trinity are surprisingly consistent through Latin America: the Triune Deity are usually identical in age, are enthroned, have long dark hair, have triangular haloes, and carry individual attributes. God the Father often carries a scepter, the Holy Spirit usually has a dove and Christ has a lamb or a cross. In addition, a "New World" addition to His attributes is that God the Father often has a sun represented on his robe.⁴²⁶ Although the friars had attempted to eliminate every trace of Mesoamerican cosmology, they had not been completely successful. An important aspect of Aztec religious belief was the need to nourish the Sun to ensure the continuation of the universe; thus, this emblem associated with the Father helped to integrate the Christian deity into Mesoamerican cosmology. Sacrifice effected this renewal of the Sun. The stress on Christ's sacrifice offered to the Father to ensure humanities' redemption could have been a correspondence which made the addition of a sun symbol doubly relevant in the American context.

The thrones vary from actual elaborate examples to symbolic enthronement, or placement in heaven, where the Deity is simply floating on a sphere, on clouds, or on

⁴²⁶ David W. Kiehl, Mexico, Splendors of Thirty Centuries, p. 549.

putti or angel heads.⁴²⁷ Christ continues to be positioned on the right side of the Father, taken from Matt. (26:64) just as European examples were, "Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven,"⁴²⁸ language derived from Psalm 109.

The Spanish prototype which American examples follow most closely is in the retablo mayor of the Church of San Carlos, in Zaragoza, circa 1725. (Fig. 34) Imagery from a prayer book or Psalter must have provided the direct model for this Trinitarian imagery. However, most prints of this type have not survived, since the lack of glazing meant that many were pasted on boards and varnished, then sometimes overpainted.⁴²⁹ Used over and over again, these prints in the fragile paper medium must have literally disintegrated. The invention of printing in the fifteenth century had provided a ubiquitous and inexpensive medium for the transmission of traditional devotional images

⁴²⁷ The only exception that I have located so far to this iconography is a type that shows the triune Deity as three identical long-haired figures, with God the Father painting the miraculous image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, while the Son and Holy Spirit hold the canvas! This fascinating conflation of two themes, St. Luke painting the Virgin, and the Trinity, can be found in several churches in Mexico.

⁴²⁸ Quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 3, p. 444.

⁴²⁹ See E. Boyd, Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico, (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1974), pp. 80-1.

throughout Christian Europe and later the Americas.⁴³⁰ The Book of Hours, as the most popular devotional book of the later Middle Ages,⁴³¹ became the source for the images found in later printed books. These were used and reused as models and prototypes and eventually came to the Americas as prints in the form of woodcuts and engravings found in breviaries, missals and illuminated books of hymns. The major cities of Spanish America quickly developed presses which in turn sent out prints to the rural areas.⁴³² The missal printed by the Plantin Press in Antwerp was the source for these prints because they held a monopoly for the printing of missals, Bibles and breviaries to be used in the Spanish colonies for almost three hundred years.⁴³³

One of the most important Renaissance Mexican retablo mayors to survive, 1605, is located in the Franciscan convent of Xochimilco, in Mexico City. It continues the association of the Trinity and the Virtues--in fact, it conflates the meaning of these two conceptions. (Fig. 67) God the Father holding the orb of universal sovereignty is in the center of the remate, while a personification of the

⁴³⁰ Wroth, Christian Images in Hispanic New Mexico, p. 30.

⁴³¹ Plummer, pp. 8-9.

⁴³² Christine Mather, Baroque to Folk, (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1980), p. 19.

⁴³³ Boyd, Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico, p. 81.

Virtue of Charity is to his right and Hope is to his left.⁴³⁴ These two Virtues are signifiers for the Son and Holy Spirit; the cross held by Charity and the arrow held by Hope (indicating the flight of the spirit) makes this explicit. Once again, the correct ceremonial placement is observed. Accompanied by the Virgin, saints and martyrs depicted in both paintings and sculpture, they preside over this large and elaborate retablo, just as they rule over the "City of God" in the Americas.⁴³⁵

Developing out of the All Saints tradition, the representation is of heaven or paradise, which is analogous with both the Church Triumphant and Augustine's mystical "City of God."⁴³⁶ This conception is closely related to Psalm 109 and its imagery because it depicts the synthronos of the Trinity after the adventus of Christ in heaven following his Ascension. It is forcefully expressed in the altarpieces of the Spanish Americas because they represented heaven on earth, the New Jerusalem which the

⁴³⁴ See Tovar de Teresa for another example of two virtues, this time Faith and Hope with God the Father, depicted in a sixteenth-century Mexican retablo, now located in Tecali. (p. 347)

⁴³⁵ There are very few examples of early colonial retablos which have survived in the Spanish Americas; the zeal of later generations destroyed them in order to make space for Baroque and Neoclassical examples. Huejotzingo and Xochimilco are arguably the most important examples among these few surviving sixteenth-century ones. See de la Maza, 26.

⁴³⁶ Hall, pp. 13-14.

faithful so earnestly sought. Another source was found in the Book of Revelation which was also used in the liturgy for the mass on All Saints feast day,

Then as I looked I heard the voices of countless angels. These were all round the throne...and they cried aloud: Worthy is the Lamb, the Lamb that was slain... After this I looked and saw a vast throng, which no one could count, from every nation, of all tribes, peoples and languages, standing in front of the throne and before the Lamb..." (Rev. 5:11-13 and 7:9-14)

Early Medieval paintings were quite literal in following this text, but during the fourteenth century the lamb was superseded by the Trinity or by God wearing a papal tiara, which represents the Trinity and the universal church. Since the All Saints Imagery was actually used as an illustration to Augustine's City of God this proves that both conceptions, the "City of God" and heaven, were synonymous.⁴³⁷

Narratives scenes from the Old and New Testaments as well as depictions of apostles, saints and martyrs represent the divine revelation on which the body of the Church is supported. Since the era of the first Early Christian cathedrals, their mission has been to visibly proclaim the teaching of the Church, to be the Gospel in stone. Every portion of the theme is subordinated to a systematic transcendental system in which architecture, sculpture and painting are fused into an indivisible

⁴³⁷ Hall, pp. 13-14.

aesthetic and symbolic unity. The overarching purpose of this type of program was to represent the world as subject to the supreme and eternal power of Christ or the Trinity, and of the Church, representative on earth of this sovereignty. The comprehensive nature of the imagery, the complex iconographic system and the formal arrangement of the compositions all had the objective of subordinating the material world to a spiritual order overseen by the Church.

Classical triumphal arches and town gates were re-used in Christian contexts, especially in the church portal and division between the nave and apse of the interior, to solemnify and protect the entrance to the Heavenly Jerusalem, the sacred city which is the Church. Christian triumphal iconography included persons who had announced and prepared the way for the fulfillment of the kingdom of Christ on earth; this conception also drew upon Roman programs for the glorification of the emperor.⁴³⁰ While Romanesque churches expressed triumphal theophanies in the sculpted portals, during the later Medieval period elaborate retablos became popular, especially in Spain. These continued in the Spanish Americas where the Trinity became a theophany of the Church Triumphant.

⁴³⁰ A striking example can be found in the abbey of Santa María de Ripoll in Catalonia whose elaborately sculptured triumphal entrance was created during the middle of the twelfth century. Xavier Barral i Alter, Sculpture: The Great Art of the Middle Ages from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century, (Geneva and New York: Skira and Rizzoli, 1990), pp. 49-52.

The Spanish monarchs effected their extensive ecclesiastical authority in New Spain as vicars of the Renaissance Popes,⁴³⁹ which is one reason for the frequent use of the papal tiara in later Spanish and colonial examples of the synthronos Trinity. The tiara itself was also a reference to the Trinity as well as to the supremacy of the Church.⁴⁴⁰ The deputy of the Papacy was the Spanish monarchy, through the authority of the Alexandrine bulls.

Miguel Cabrera's painting of the Trinity of the mid-eighteenth century is an abbreviated version of the "City of God" in the Americas. (Fig. 2) Enthroned over the globe of the universe and adored by cherubs, the Father holds a scepter and has a Sun-God attribute, while Christ holds a Sacred Heart as well as displaying the stigmata on his left hand. The Holy Spirit holds a dove to his chest. Cabrera's Trinity is considered the exemplar of the identical form and could have been copied by the folk artists who produced small retablos on tin, a very popular devotional art form during the nineteenth century. There is a Roman Imperial prototype to this motif of enthronement over the sphere of the universe. It was during the third century that images of the Roman emperor enthroned over the globe or celestial sphere became popular. (Fig. 11) The emperor is seated on a starry sphere, representing the

⁴³⁹ Sylvest, p. 72.

⁴⁴⁰ Hall, pp. 14 and 309.

heavens, while being crowned from behind by Victory. He holds a scepter with his left hand and the zodiac with his right, indicating that the emperor's dominion operated in time as well as space.⁴⁴¹ This royal imagery was absorbed by the Church, where it can be followed from the mid-fourth century as applicable to Christ,⁴⁴² then to the Trinity.

According to the Venerable Bede, after the Resurrection,

The Prophet addresses the human race, then laboring with various superstitions: defining in the first part that the universal orb of the world was the Lord's, and as no one was excepted from His empire, so none should believe anything opposed to his faith, "The earth is the Lord's."⁴⁴³

Bede's text is an important source for the very prevalent symbolism of the orb of the world found in innumerable European and Spanish American examples of the Trinity.

The identical Trinity found on the remate, or top portion of the portal, of the Mexican Church of La Trinidad de Conca is an eighteenth-century example of enthronement over the orb of the universe. (Fig. 68) Although it is difficult to ascertain whether they hold any attributes, due to weathering in these very exposed areas, it is clear that this sculpture follows the synthronos pattern.

⁴⁴¹ MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity, p. 127.

⁴⁴² For example, the apse mosaic of San Vitale, where the imperial and Biblical images merge.

⁴⁴³ Quoted in Neale and Littledale, volume 1, p. 327.

Functioning as a symbolic guardian, the placement of the Trinity on the remate is quite typical within Mexico and can also be found on the eighteenth-century Church of San Miguel Conca, Querétaro, Sierra Gorda, where the identical synthronos Trinity are also positioned over the orb of the universe. (Fig. 69)

Numerous eighteenth-century examples were carved in relief onto the church façade just above the portal. (Fig. 70) The identical synthronos Trinity on the Jesuit Church of La Compañía, originally the Church of the Holy Trinity, and another eighteenth-century example on the Church of La Valenciana are both from the Guanajuato region of Mexico. (Fig. 71) All of these sculpted reliefs are remarkably similar, clearly showing the identical synthronos Trinity positioned over the orb of the universe, accompanied by cherubs. When attributes are still visible, God the Father usually holds a scepter. The Trinity over the portal of La Cata Chapel is framed within a quatrefoil, while three Virtues are enclosed within a shell medallion just below, strengthening the relationship which this study has been tracing of the Drama of the Virtues and the identical Trinity. (Fig. 72)

In another example which was originally part of a Mexican Baroque altarpiece, from the seventeenth or eighteenth century, it is still possible to see the Trinity enthroned in heaven on a circular form, although this work

has been damaged. (Fig. 73)

A tondo compositional form was used for another quite similar relief carved in wood which was also originally part of a Baroque altarpiece, now in the Franz Meyer Museum in Mexico City. (Fig. 74) Enthroned in heaven, they are circled by cherubs. The attributes have been incised into this polychromed sculpture; a sun for the Father, lamb for the Son and dove for the Holy Spirit.

The devotional folk art called retablos, created on tin during the nineteenth century, almost all use the identical Trinitarian imagery instead of the more orthodox form.⁴⁴⁴ As previously mentioned, they could have been copied from Miguel Cabrera's Trinity, since he was a prolific and popular colonial artist.⁴⁴⁵ Almost always painted by anonymous artists, the numerous examples which can be found are remarkably similar. (Figs. 75 and 76) Enthroned over the universe, God the Father is in the center with both a sun and a scepter as attributes, Christ to his right has a lamb and the Holy Spirit has a dove. Thus it is evident that even in this very abbreviated folk art version from the nineteenth century, the primary characteristics for this type of imagery which were

⁴⁴⁴ See Giffords, pp. 40-1.

⁴⁴⁵ Giffords, however, says "Juan" instead of "Miguel" which must be an error, since there does not seem to have been an artist in Mexico at this time called Juan Cabrera. (p. 40)

proposed at the onset of this study remain consistent: identicality, correct ceremonial placement, and attributes of secular and sacred power. They continue to represent the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church and the sovereignty of the Trinity in the Americas, even when used to decorate home altars.

The renowned Mexican printmaker, José Guadalupe Posada, created a related version in a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century print titled "La anima sola." (Fig. 77) The Trinity, absolutely identical except for Christ's stigmata, are enthroned over the universe between the figures of Mary and Joseph who intercede for the soul in purgatory below. This agonized soul, personified as a woman, is in chains and behind bars in the midst of penitential flames. Her raised right arm and upturned gaze is turned to the scene in heaven above as she beseeches the holy personages for mercy. The Trinity, wearing triangular nimbi, are a celestial vision of glory surrounded by rays of divine light and cherubs. Mary and Joseph mediate between the Deity and the burning soul, as the prayer on the back of this broadside makes clear:

Fervent invocation which the inconsolable Soul in Holy Purgatory makes to the Highest Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity, by means of its efficacious advocates, Mary and Joseph.⁴⁴⁶

This prayer expresses the doctrine of the communion of

⁴⁴⁶ Ron Tyler (ed.), Posada's Mexico, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1979), p. 175.

saints, which unites the saints in Heaven, the faithful on earth, and the souls in Purgatory, all under the sovereignty of the Trinity. In addition to the imagery of the Last Judgment and Second Coming, this particular iconography is related to Psalm 109 as well as to the retablo versions of the identical Trinity in New Spain which this study has been analyzing. It should be mentioned, however, that the prevalence of the identical Trinity in the Americas signifies a degree of toleration by the local Church until the Council of Santa Fé de Bogotá censured this form on May 27, 1774.⁴⁴⁷ In spite of this, the nature of this imagery and its meaning of universal sovereignty remained so compelling that it continued to be produced until the twentieth century in Latin America.

Pedro de la Gasca and the Adventus Ritual in Peru

Peru was overpowered by Francisco Pizarro, a conquistador from Truxillo, of the province of Estremadura, Spain. Through ambush and treachery, a relatively small contingent of Europeans were able to defeat the Incas in 1532. Political struggles within the newly conquered country led

⁴⁴⁷ This decision, however, may not have been completely binding on Mexico. Burke states that the decree condemning the anthropomorphic Trinity is quoted in Moreno Villa 1948, p. 110. Spain and New Spain: Mexican Colonial Arts in Their European Context, (Corpus Christi: Art Museum of South Texas, 1979), pp. 102-3.

to the murder of Pizarro by his own countrymen. Pedro de la Gasca assumed leadership and, as was customary, had a Royal Entry ceremony staged for him as victorious leader as he entered the capital of Lima,

The whole population came forth from the gates, led by the authorities of the city, with Aldana, as corregidor (mayor), at their head. Gasca rode on a mule, dressed in his ecclesiastical robes. On his right, borne on a horse richly caparisoned, was the royal seal....A gorgeous canopy of brocade was supported above his robes of crimson velvet...the good president made his peaceful entry into the City of the Kings, while the air was rent with the acclamations of the people, who hailed him as their "Father and Deliverer, the Savior of their country!"⁴⁴

Not only was Gasca's military conquest being celebrated, but his religious leadership is also stressed, since he rode on a mule, dressed in ecclesiastic garments; thus, he is patterning himself upon Christ during his triumphal Palm Sunday procession.

Analysis of Peruvian Synthronos Trinity

This continuation of the adventus ceremony in Peru is echoed by the use of the synthronismo iconography, showing the consistency of these traditions throughout the Spanish Americas, in spite of tremendous geographical distances. Cuzco, former capital of the Inca Empire, produced a

⁴⁴ For the conquest of Peru and the adventus ceremony see William Hickling Prescott, The Conquest of Mexico, The Conquest of Peru, and other Selections, Roger Howell (ed.), (New York: Twayne Pub., 1966), pp. 300-01.

significant school of artists during the colonial period; an example of the synthronos Trinity painted during the seventeenth century in this colonial capital depicts the Triune Deity enthroned over the orb of the universe. They are distinguished by their clothing and attributes, but otherwise are identical in appearance.⁴⁴⁹ (Fig. 78) They are positioned in the upper portion of the painting, while St. Joseph is below on the left, holding his flowering staff, and St. Ignatius of Loyola is below on the right, with the monogram of the Jesuit Order as his attribute.⁴⁵⁰ The Trinity are floating in heaven accompanied by cherubs; a huge crown hovers over them, analogous to the giant crown found in Ermengaud's thirteenth-century miniature and this manuscript's fourteenth-century copies. Christ, on the Father's right, hold his crucifix and is robed below the waist only. God the Father holds a scepter and has an Inca Sun-God attribute on his outer robe, while the Holy Spirit also holds a scepter.⁴⁵¹ All three wear closed crowns, in addition to the oversized open crown which floats above

⁴⁴⁹ Teresa Gisbert, "The Andean Gods Throughout Christianity," in Temples of Gold, Crowns of Silver: Reflections of Majesty in the Viceregal Americas, (Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, 1991), pp. 84-5. Gisbert says that there are many examples from Cuzco and Potosi which depict the Trinity as three identical persons.

⁴⁵⁰ This monogram is inscribed IHS, the initials of Christ. Hall, p. 159.

⁴⁵¹ For Sun-God symbolism which survived the conquest, see Gisbert, pp. 80-8.

them. The use of this giant crown suggests the persistence and importance of Ermengaud's imagery.

Within Inca belief, the kings of Cuzco, called Inca, were believed to be sons of the Sun, who ruled over heaven and earth. In addition to this divinity, the principle Deity was characterized as a condor, serpent, anthropomorphized feline or ear of maize.⁴⁵² Bearing some relationship with Aztec rites, sacrifices designed to nourish the Sun were vitally important.

Gisbert asserts the reason the identical Trinity was used in the viceroyalty of Peru was because the depiction of animals was not allowed in the church; the church feared any religious representation which might remind converts of pre-existing native belief systems. The dove was considered to be too close in form to native types of worship and/or representation, such as the condor form of the chief Andean deity. Once again, polemical issues are decisive in the use of the identical synthronos Trinity; this time it is used instead of the more conventional form of the Trinity in order to avoid reminding the Native peoples of their now-forbidden traditional religious beliefs and deities. When images of a dove or lamb are found in the Spanish Americas they usually accompany the

⁴⁵² See Pierre Duviols, "Inca Religion," in Encyclopedia of Religion, volume 7, Mircea Eliade, editor-in-chief, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), pp. 152-56.

identical Trinity as an attribute of the Holy Spirit or Christ. Although the identical Trinity may have been preferred in Peru because it would help to eliminate animism, as indicated above, even more compelling was the fact that the Deities's identicality stressed the orthodox position on the Trinity, and reinforced connotations of orthodoxy and universal sovereignty.

Juan de Oñate and the Adventus Ceremony in New Mexico

Juan de Oñate crossed the Rio Grande into New Mexico for the purpose of conquest and colonization on April 20, 1598 and performed not only the classical adventus ceremony, but also re-enacted the history of the conquest of Mexico. Oñate (born in 1552 in Zacatecas, Mexico) was married to Isabel Cortés Tolosa, a descendant, on her mother's side, of Hernán Cortés.⁴³³ He consciously staged his conquest of New Mexico to echo the actions of his wife's relation. Since the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico and Arizona had already heard of the Aztec defeat, to make it clear that their conquest and colonization was analogous to that earlier subjugation, several key episodes were staged for them.⁴³⁴ Oñate carried a banner with an image of "Our Lady

⁴³³ Marc Simmons, New Mexico: A Bicentennial History, (New York: Norton, 1977), p. 35.

⁴³⁴ See Gutiérrez, pp. 47-8.

of the Remedies," identical to the one that Hernán Cortés had carried in 1519 into the capital city of the Aztecs, Tenochtitlán. Escorted by natives from the same tribe who had befriended Cortés, the Tlascalans, he was also accompanied by twelve Franciscan friars, in conscious emulation of the Twelve who had inaugurated Mexico's spiritual conquest.⁴⁵⁵ The requieremento in the name of the Trinity was read. Soon after crossing the Rio Grande, this conquistador received four Native representatives from a nearby village and dressed them as Spaniards, as Moctezuma had been dressed in Roman regalia, then offered them gifts.⁴⁵⁶ It was a European diplomatic custom that an inferior host always donned the clothes of a superior guest.⁴⁵⁷

Ten days later Oñate had a chapel constructed in order to celebrate the mass and to enact the adventus ceremony. He approached the twelve Franciscans, knelt, kissed their hands and the hems of their robes, and then directed the Indians to do likewise. Mission activity in New Mexico was in the hands of the Franciscan order, which was an extension of the work they had begun earlier in Mexico.

In the village of Ohke, renamed San Juan de los

⁴⁵⁵ Gutiérrez, p. 48.

⁴⁵⁶ Villagrà, p. 129.

⁴⁵⁷ Gutiérrez, p. 48.

Caballeros, Oñate stage the medieval Spanish play, "The Christians and the Moors." This drama about the reconquista depicted the theft of the cross by the Andalusian Muslims, its heroic recapture by Christian soldiers, the eventual acceptance of the cross by the infidel and their submission to Spanish Christian forces.⁴⁵⁸

Whenever a Franciscan prelate entered Santa Fe for the first time, or visited the missions in his province, he expected to be greeted with the adventus ceremony. An example was the grand reception given to Alonso de Benavides, newly elected custos (chief ecclesiastical official), when he approached Santa Fe,⁴⁵⁹ New Mexico on January 24, 1626.

...at the outskirts of the city there came to welcome him the governor, alcaldes, cabildo, all the other people, properly arranged on horseback in war array.⁴⁶⁰

A formal procession of the governor and other officials accompanied Benavides to the church on the following day where the edict of the faith was read by Friar Pedro de

⁴⁵⁸ Gutiérrez, p. 50.

⁴⁵⁹ Its full name is La Villa Real de Santa Fé, de San Francisco de Asís: The Royal City of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis of Assisi.

⁴⁶⁰ Quoted in Gutiérrez, p. 99.

Ortego, notary of the Holy Office (Inquisition).⁴⁶¹

Adventus ceremonies were also arranged for any friar who entered a Pueblo village. The new converts staged a procession, carrying a large cross, garlands of flowers, lighted candles, and singing Psalms, festivities similar to European rituals discussed earlier as well as to those which greeted the adventus and display of the Eucharist on the feast of Corpus Christi.⁴⁶²

General de Vargas and the Adventus Ritual in New Mexico

The reconquest of New Mexico in the late seventeenth century was viewed as a reconquista which paralleled the recapture of al-Andalus from the infidel and the first conquest of the Americas.⁴⁶³ Captain General Diego de Vargas, newly appointed governor of the province, was filled with crusading ambition to recapture the lost territories of northern New Spain from the Pueblo peoples, who had staged the only successful Native American revolt,

⁴⁶¹ France V. Scholes, Church and State in New Mexico 1610-1650, Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, volume VII, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937), p. 87. According to Scholes, Benavides was sent to New Mexico to investigate cases of heresy and religious offenses on behalf of the Inquisition, since he had had considerable experience as an official of the Inquisition.

⁴⁶² Gutiérrez, p. 99.

⁴⁶³ Simmons, New Mexico: A Bicentennial History, p. 74.

in 1680, in the history of the conquest of the Americas.⁴⁶⁴ When de Vargas reclaimed New Mexico for the Spanish crown in 1693 he enacted the adventus ceremony, as recorded by the General himself. Accompanied by his military captain, Don Bernardino Duran y Chaves, who carried the military standard as well as the sculpture La Conquistadora, patroness of the city of Santa Fe and a symbol of Mater Ecclesia, the Spanish entered the plaza of Santa Fe where the Pueblo peoples waited for them. This sculpture of the Virgin Mary had first been brought to New Mexico by Fray Alonso de Benavides, it was under her protection that the territory was reconquered.

Friar Salvador de San Antonio approached on foot accompanied by fifteen Franciscans who chanted Psalms. De Vargas, dismounting from his horse, went to receive the friars, who advanced in processional order. Then the governor and all the secular contingent made their "due obeisance" to the religious personnel. Finally, all of those present knelt down and sang Psalms and prayer, including the hymn, Te Deum Laudemus, in the middle of the plaza, where a cross had been erected.

The reconquest necessitated that the Pueblo peoples should again become Christians, while the Spanish promised to protect them from the Apaches, whose raiding was

⁴⁶⁴ See Edward P. Dozier, The Pueblo Indians of North America, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 71.

becoming an increasing problem for Pueblos and Spanish alike along the Rio Grande.⁴⁶⁵ After the ceremony was carried out, de Vargas signed his name in the presence of his officers and two secretaries.

The explorations and conquests of the conquistadors are still being celebrated in present-day processions, parades, and pilgrimages in the American Southwest.⁴⁶⁶ A symbolic reenactment of de Vargas's military conquest of New Mexico, called the Entrada, is staged in Santa Fe during the annual fiesta held in early September. This is a morality play whose origins can be traced to religious drama performed in medieval Spain, such as los moros y cristianos, which were performed during the Christmas season or for the feast of Corpus Christi.⁴⁶⁷ The "Moors and Christians" was also presented by de Vaca in Mexico to commemorate the Feast of Santiago in 1536 and was later dramatized in 1598 to celebrate the colonizing of New Mexico by Oñate. De Vargas was a member of the Order of Santiago; he was proud of being descended from the knights

⁴⁶⁵ Information about this ceremony can be found in Ralph E. Twitchell, The Spanish Archives of New Mexico, (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914), volume 2, pp. 106-8.

⁴⁶⁶ R.L. Grimes, Symbol and Conquest: Public Ritual and Drama in Santa Fe, New Mexico, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992 reprint, originally published Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 66.

⁴⁶⁷ This discussion of the Entrada is based upon Grimes, pp. 116-92.

who had defeated the Moors.⁴⁶⁶

Roles impersonate the military, religious and Native American personages who were actually present during the reconquest of 1692.⁴⁶⁷ The primary symbolic action during this four-day fiesta is the performance of the adventus ritual whenever the actors playing de Vargas and his retinue make an appearance. De Vargas is symbolically robed in a blessed garment and then knighted in the church after Vespers. This conquistador is also symbolically enthroned during a special Mass held in conjunction with the Entrada. In a comparable way, the fiesta queen is also given a blessed robe and then crowned. Every ceremonial gesture is performed in the name of the Trinity. During the annual re-enactment, the Pueblo people accept the sovereignty of the Spanish king, embrace Catholicism, and surrender legal possession of their pueblos. The annual ceremony concludes with the friars chanting the hymn Te Deum Laudamus. Most of these ritual actions, such as the adventus, coronation, blessed robes and chanting of Psalms are associated with the synthronos Trinity and its ancient association of sacred and secular power.

⁴⁶⁶ Grimes, p. 242.

⁴⁶⁷ The roles are: De Vargas, a sergeant major, two captains, a lieutenant, seven soldiers, a standard-bearer, the mayor, three town councilmen, the town secretary, the Franciscan superior, a friar and a preacher, two Indian governors, a black drummer and two trumpeters. Grimes, pp. 121-2.

Analysis of New Mexican Synthronos Trinities

New Mexico has the earliest and best preserved examples of Spanish colonial churches and retablos in what is now the United States.⁴⁷⁰ Most contain examples of the identical synthronos Trinity. As was the case in Mexico, the historic pillars of the Church, members of the Holy Family, theologians, founders of religious orders, martyrs and saints are hierarchically juxtaposed to the Trinity within the retablo's compositional format, an image of the heavenly order and a representation of Christian history and theology, used as visual catechisms by the Franciscan friars for didactic purposes within their missions.⁴⁷¹

The altarpiece of the church of San José, located in the Laguna Pueblo, is the best preserved in New Mexico.⁴⁷² (Fig. 79) Commissioned by Chief Alcalde⁴⁷³ Don José Manuel

⁴⁷⁰ So much has been lost or restored in the Texan and California missions that they are not really comparable with New Mexico.

⁴⁷¹ Gutiérrez, p. 60

⁴⁷² See Boyd, Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico, p. 155.

⁴⁷³ Alcalde, which means mayor, is an Arabic-derived word, from al-quadi. Jan Read, The Moors in Spain and Portugal, (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), p. 185. The commissioning of this work by a secular authority continues the close relationship which this study has been tracing of secular and religious leadership within the Spanish Americas.

Aragón, it was completed ca. 1800-1808.⁴⁷⁴ The Triune Deity are seated on an elaborate high-backed triple throne in the top center, robed in red, and identical except for their attributes.⁴⁷⁵ A photograph by Laura Gilpin confirms that the Deity are positioned above a large globe, not pointed out until this time, which continues the pattern already discussed in Mexico and Peru. A polychromed shell relief in front of this globe has typically obscured this important detail of the imagery, which corroborates the message of world sovereignty, as does the scepter held by God the Father.

The anonymous artist of this retablo is referred to as the "Laguna santero," since this work is considered to be the exemplar of his/her prolific achievement in New Mexico.⁴⁷⁶ The iconographic program of the altarpiece

⁴⁷⁴ Boyd, Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico, pp. 166-169. The tree-ring testing performed by William Stallings yielded data that agrees with this conclusion.

⁴⁷⁵ While the Father in the center holds a scepter, the Holy Spirit on his left has a dove, and Christ on his right holds a cross. These attributes make a strong case for a Spanish, rather than Mexican source because in those which have Mexican prototypes the Father has a sun represented on his robe (a New World addition to His attributes). See David W. Kiehl, Mexico, Splendors of Thirty Centuries, p. 549.

⁴⁷⁶ Santero: saint-maker or creator of carved and painted images of holy personages. Because of the large number of important retablos that have been attributed to the Laguna santero, such as at San Miguel Acoma, Zia, Santa Ana, the parish church of Santa Fe in the San Jose chapel, and in the Ortiz family chapels, he/she is considered the most important santero to work at this period of the great flowering of the New Mexican retablo. See Bol, p. 51.

probably came from Father José Benito Pereyro, who was the missionary priest at Laguna and neighboring Acoma between 1798 and 1803, although no contracts have been located.⁴⁷⁷ Pereyro was born in 1768 in the village of Arnoya, in the province of Galicia, Spain and he arrived New Mexico in 1793.⁴⁷⁸ Serving as missionary at Laguna, Sandía, and various Tewa pueblos, he was elected custos (chief ecclesiastical officer) of the New Mexican Franciscan missions in 1808 for a three-year term.⁴⁷⁹

The altarpiece was described by Fray José Pedro Rubí de Celis in 1810, listing all of the principal elements of its iconographic and architectural program, indicating that no significant alteration has occurred.⁴⁸⁰ The fact that

⁴⁷⁷ Wroth, Christian Images in Hispanic New Mexico, p. 69. It is believed that this artist was also responsible for other significant altarpieces in the Northern New Mexico region at this time. It is unfortunate that the plate reproducing the San José Trinity was reversed in Wroth's book, so that the Son is shown on the left side of the Father, when he is actually on the Father's right hand--which can cause lead to misunderstanding of this iconography, since it is a critical symbolic feature.

⁴⁷⁸ John L. Kessell, The Missions of New Mexico Since 1776, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), p. 240.

⁴⁷⁹ Kessell, p. 240

⁴⁸⁰ For the inventory, see Kessell, p. 188. The only damage to have occurred was in the lower cartouche where an inscription with the date and patron would have been located, that was washed away at some point, and that now has a painting of the Franciscan coat of arms. See Boyd, Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico, p. 155-169. The tree-ring testing performed by William Stallings yielded data that agrees with this chronology.

Rubí de Celis did not mention it as heretical, nor did the imagery trouble Pereyro, the friar who commissioned this retablo, indicates that the subject matter was not yet considered problematic by those in positions of ecclesiastical power in the provinces of New Spain.⁴⁰¹ After all, one of their responsibilities was to report on and eliminate heretical or unorthodox practices. At Laguna Pueblo, as was typical for this image, it was placed in the most elevated position on the retablo, in the center and directly over San José, the titular saint.

The Laguna Pueblo was established in the 1690s, right after the reconquest of New Mexico. The Spanish had been driven out for just twelve years, but they had learned a lesson, and some of the most bitterly resented aspects of colonialism were discontinued. Churches were smaller, requiring less labor, and the tribute labor program was discontinued. The Pueblo peoples apparently encountered less resistance in the performance of their sacred ceremonies. The governor was to enforce the law code known as the Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias, which protected Pueblo lands. In fact, a number

⁴⁰¹ See Kessell, p. 188. Painted faces that serve as herms on the Laguna retablo architecture at the top of the solomonic columns prove that a print must have been used as a model. As two-dimensional painted representations of three-dimensional forms, the faces actually deny the purpose of the herm whose function is, of course, structural. The artist misunderstood this role and made the herms flat, decorative faces.

of friars, including one from Laguna, supported the native right to bear arms and paint their faces while fighting enemy Indians.⁴⁰²

A symbol of this modification was the addition of a cielo, sky canopy, to the San José retablo. It has images that represent Native cosmology--a sun, moon, rainbow, two white stars representing morning, and eight yellow and red stars representing evening. This iconography is unusual for New Mexican altarpieces but does appear in one other contemporary church, that of the neighboring San Esteban in Acoma Pueblo.

Although less harsh after the Pueblo Revolt, missionary work was still deemed vitally important. The rich gold and silver reserves that made Central and South America so attractive to the Spanish were not found in New Mexico; thus, the sole reason for conquest and settlement was the harvest of souls.⁴⁰³ This task was made especially challenging because of the complex and evolved spiritual system already in place.

Believing that they emerged from beneath the present earth's surface, Pueblo peoples call the earth their mother and the Sun their father. Prayers are offered to the Sun at dawn every day. A newborn is also shown to the Sun, after a period of seclusion in darkness, to ask for a long

⁴⁰² Dozier, p. 72.

⁴⁰³ For more on this see Boyd and Wroth.

and happy life. The Sun is also a deity of war and hunting, light and warmth. One of the duties of Pueblo religion is to help the father Sun make his daily journey across the sky.¹⁸⁴ A complex ceremonial cycle is harmonized with the cycles of the Sun, solstices and equinoxes. The winter solstice is the time for the Soyalangw ceremony, inaugurating the kachina ritual season. Kachinas are the ancestors, deities and life-giving rain spirits.¹⁸⁵ This Pueblo belief system is concerned, comparable to Aztec and Inca cosmology, with the fourfold plan of the universe. Thus it bears no relationship with the triune symbolism of the Christian deity, painted and sculpted throughout northern New Spain.

Returning to our examination of the identical synthronos Trinity, a prominent example was created by José de Alcibar, a native of Texcoco, Mexico. It is located on the retablo of the Santuario de Guadalupe in Santa Fe. (Fig. 80) Painted in 1795, the Trinity is placed above the Virgin of Guadalupe and both are surrounded by narrative scenes which convey this story. They are identically garbed in brilliant white robes and hold a scepter, while

¹⁸⁴ For more on this topic see Ann E. Storey, The Eloquence of Tradition: A Examination of the Spanish Colonial Legacy in the American Southwest as Exemplified in San Xavier del Bac and San José de Laguna, (University of Washington, M.A. Thesis, 1993), pp. 51-8.

¹⁸⁵ See Elsie C. Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 2 volumes, (University of Chicago Press, 1939).

also making blessing signs. A very prominent Mexican painter, Alcibar and his compatriot José de Ibarra established a painting school in 1753 in Mexico City. Later Alcibar was assistant director of the Academy of San Carlos, Mexico City.⁴⁰⁶

San José de Gracia in Las Trampas⁷, New Mexico is considered one of the most perfectly preserved Spanish colonial churches in the United States. It has six large retablos which were painted ca. 1800. The one on the left side of the church has an identical Trinity enthroned over the universe with their conventional attributes and triangular nimbi, while a large dove is positioned overhead in a medallion. (Fig. 81)

Nineteenth-century New Mexican examples show the progression of provincial santos from an elaborate Mexican Baroque style into a simplified folk tradition; the latter bears a close relationship with the anonymous devotional art of Medieval Europe. Not only the iconography, but almost every aspect of New Mexican viceregal art reflects aspects of Medieval art, such as "anonymity, eloquence of the vernacular, and a reliance on shared models and conventions,"⁴⁰⁷ as an example, the retablo created by

⁴⁰⁶ Juana Gutiérrez Haces, Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries, p. 371.

⁴⁰⁷ Elizabeth Wilder Weismann, Art and Time in Mexico: from the Conquest to the Revolution, (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), p. 6.

José Rafael Aragón, ca. 1840, for the family Chapel of Our Lady of Talpa, dedicated in 1851.⁴⁰⁰ (Fig. 82) Painted with tempera on a gessoed wood panel, the Trinity is located in its customary position, in the upper center of this altarpiece, above Nuestro Padre Jesús, the Man of Sorrows. Although created in a very abbreviated folk style, the Triune Deity are carefully represented with their attributes, as well as being individually positioned over orbs. All have triangular nimbi, while the Father wears a papal tiara and is holding a scepter in his left hand and a victory staff in his right. Christ and the Holy Spirit also hold scepters. The Immaculate Conception and St. Francis flank the Trinity, while below Our Lady of Sorrows and Our Lady of Solitude flank Nuestro Padre Jesús.⁴⁰¹ The papal tiara worn by God the Father is a common feature, signifying the universal authority of the Pope. We have already seen that the papal tiara is a reference to the pope speaking ex cathedra, and therefore reinforces the conception of sovereignty.

Another retablo by the same painter depicts the

⁴⁰⁰ Robert L. Shalkop, Wooden Saints: The Santos of New Mexico, (The Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, Feldafing: Buchheim Verlag, 1967), p. 32. This structure was later known as the Duran Chapel.

⁴⁰¹ There is iconographic confusion in the representation of the Immaculate Conception, since Mary is pierced by swords, an attribute which indicates Our Lady of Sorrows. See Shalkop, Wooden Saints: The Santos of New Mexico, p. 32.

identical Trinity with triangular nimbi enthroned over the sphere of the universe surrounded by clouds, holding an elongated, horizontal scepter. (Fig. 83) The three halos are encompassed by a single, larger nimbus of three circular shapes. The Deity have their traditional "New World" attributes. Another very similar example by the same painter is now in the Taylor Museum of the Colorado Fine Arts Center. (Fig. 84)

The santero Antonio Molleno created a number of examples of Trinities using different iconographic formulas, such as the Throne of Grace and the identical synthronos Trinity.⁴⁹⁰ His identical Trinity are enthroned over a dynamically represented globe of the universe (Fig. 85) Molleno's Throne of Grace example is an abbreviated folk art image of this theme. While God the Father supports the Son, Christ, in turn, holds the dove of the Holy Spirit. (Fig. 86)

Donna Pierce estimates that approximately seventy-five percent of New Mexican Trinities are the identical synthronos form, while the remainder are divided between other iconographic formulas.⁴⁹¹ This confirms that there were other Trinitarian prototypes available even in the

⁴⁹⁰ See Larry Frank, New Kingdom of the Saints: Religious Art of New Mexico, 1780-1907, (Santa Fe: Red Crane Books, 1992), p. 82.

⁴⁹¹ Pierce, "The Holy Trinity in the Art of Rafael Aragon: An Iconographic Study," pp. 29-33.

remote provinces of northern New Spain and that creating the identical synthronos type was a matter of choice, and not because of a paucity of examples to choose from. This trend is harder to confirm in the centers of colonial artistic production, such as Mexico City and Quito, Ecuador, because the earliest retablos were often destroyed to make room for later productions. On the other hand, the importance and quantity of identical synthronos Trinity images which were produced throughout the Spanish Americas argues for their central position in the fabric of post-conquest religious and political life.

Another folk art example from New Mexico was created by the so-called "Quill Pen Santero," ca. 1830-50, in which the Deity hold an elongated, horizontally-positioned scepter. (Fig. 87) Floating in heaven on three orbs, they have their conventional American attributes: a sun for the Father, a lamb for the Son and a dove for the Holy Spirit. Named for his use of delicate lines which seem to have been created with a quill pen, the Quill Pen Santero also preferred to include intricately painted details within costumes and borders. Aspects of his painting technique and choice of imagery have led scholars to surmise that he was a Native American.⁴⁹²

Another New Mexican example, by the Truchas Master,

⁴⁹² Robin F. Gavin, Traditional Arts of Spanish New Mexico, (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1994), p. 44.

ca. 1810, has an inscription which reinforces the difficult-to-comprehend three-in-one message:

Most Holy Trinity, God the Father and God the Son
and God the Holy Spirit. Three Persons...One
Single God (the Father).⁴⁹³

This is the type of didactic message which the Franciscans must have tried to inculcate within their converts, made more accessible through the explicit imagery of three identical men. (Fig. 88)

Analysis of Arizona Trinitarian Iconography

The mission church of San Xavier del Bac, completed in 1797 and located just south of Tucson, Arizona, has the most ambitious decorative, iconographical, and architectural program of any Spanish colonial church in what is now the United States. It is still an important spiritual site and place of pilgrimage today. Father Velderrain, a missionary born in Pamplona, Spain, began the present church in 1783 but died before it could be completed. Father Juan Bautista Llorens, originally from Valencia, Spain completed it in 1797.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ "Santísima trinidad Dios padre y Dios (hijo y Dios espíritu santo Tres pers(onas)...hun solo Dios Pa..." Cited in Wroth, Christian Images in Hispanic New Mexico, plate 163.

⁴⁹⁴ Richard E. Ahlborn, The Sculpted Saints of a Borderland Mission: "Los Bultos de San Xavier del Bac," (Tucson, Arizona: Southwestern Mission Research Center, Inc., 1974), p. 11. Unfortunately, any records that

In the top center of the retablo mayor is the half-figure of God the Father; his left hand rests on an orb, while his right bestows the blessing of the Trinity. In the Roman Catholic Church this consisted of a hand with a thumb and first two fingers extended, and the third and fourth closed. The three extended fingers symbolize the Trinity, while the two closed fingers represent the dual nature of the Son. The top portion of the shell vault is called the cascarón or zona del casquete, which symbolizes the celestial realm.⁴⁹⁵ Flanking the Father are two angels and two busts in medallions, whose identity has led to a great deal of confusion. (Fig. 89) These figures have been variously designated as Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel,⁴⁹⁶ Christ during his Incarnation on earth and after Resurrection, or most recently, St. Stephen and St. Lawrence. Because of precedent throughout the Spanish Americas in using the anthropomorphic Trinity within this symbolic celestial zone of the church, I am certain that these figures must be Christ and the Holy Spirit, thus

existed concerning the names of the architect or artisans who created the church seem to have been destroyed or lost, as well as any plans concerning the architectural or iconographical programs of the church. See Robert C. Goss, The San Xavier Altarpiece, photographs by Helga Teiwes-French, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1974), p. 6.

⁴⁹⁵ Goss, p. 79.

⁴⁹⁶ Ahlborn supports the identification that this is Cain and Abel.

completing the Trinity.⁴⁹⁷ The identification of these two busts as two types of Christ,⁴⁹⁸ while more feasible than the other designations, is not supported by precedent, a crucial factor in understanding this type of work. While either the Trinity or God the Father by himself appears countless times at the top of retablos in New Spain during this period, God the Father flanked by two types of Christ does not. Therefore, these three figures must indeed represent the Trinity, especially since San Xavier employs the customary hierarchal arrangement of its retablos in other ways. While it is somewhat unusual to have these two holy personages in medallions, the decorative program of the church demands it, as the casquete section of each altarpiece has a similar arrangement. By placing the Trinity in medallions in this celestial zone, those responsible for the decorative and iconographical plan of

⁴⁹⁷ This is especially the case since none of the prior identifications have any precedent in Christian iconography for placement in the celestial zone of the altarpiece. In addition, the insistently New Testament theme of the entire decorative program of the church argues against the possibility that these figures could be Adam and Eve or Cain and Abel. Even if these Old Testament personages appeared, they would not be situated in the highest and most exalted position in the church. When Adam traditionally appears in typology, it is opposite Christ, but in a lesser position, as when his skull appears under the cross to emphasize that Adam's sin made Christ's redemptive work necessary. As prototypical sinners, they could never appear in the place of greatest prominence and hierarchical importance in an altarpiece. Likewise, as a representative sinner, Cain would not be placed in the site reserved for deity.

⁴⁹⁸ See Goss, p. 42.

this church devised a solution which solves hierarchical, didactic and decorative concerns with one compositional stroke. In addition, there is a relationship of this altarpiece with the adventus symbolism, since the Annunciation is painted in a secco fresco technique in the apse near this retablo mayor.

The Trinity in Staff Form

Most of the New Mexican bultos (sculptures) of the Trinity are in the form of the head of a staff or scepter and they seem to have been designed to function as a ritual object, perhaps used in adventus and synthronos ceremonies or other ecclesiastical rituals.⁴⁹⁹ (Figs. 90 and 91) In fact, the Franciscan symbol of authority in their missions was a scepter.⁵⁰⁰ This staff of the synthronos Trinity is similar to the one that the archbishop of Rheims presented to Charles V of France during his fourteenth-century coronation rituals discussed above.

In the New Mexican examples, the figures of the Trinity are united by a mantle of gesso-coated canvas; thus the physical materials of canvas, gesso and paint conjoins the sculptural representation of the Deity just as an enveloping mantle often joined them in Medieval paintings

⁴⁹⁹ See Frank, p. 160, plate 133, and p. 157.

⁵⁰⁰ Gutiérrez, p. 99.

of this type. Even when the sculptures are not on the head of a scepter, their form and composition always echo the scepter type of imagery, thus proving the importance of this ceremonial object. (Fig. 92) Significantly, most of the New Mexican identical Trinity paintings also copy this ritual shape. (Figs. 83, 84, and 85, among others)

There is a Roman imperial prototype for this type of staff or scepter, which probably influenced the Medieval prototype used by Charles V. (Figs. 93 and 94, detail) The consul Anastasius, nimbed with a shell motif indicating rebirth, is seated on an elaborate throne. Above the throne's pediment are three individuals, each within a clipeus, two are empresses and one is a son. Anastasius is holding a scepter surmounted with three tiny heads, as symbols of the three co-regent emperors who jointly assumed the supreme power of the Empire.⁵⁰¹ As has been stated earlier, many aspects of this Roman imagery were taken over by the Christians. In this case the shell motif symbolized the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, as well as the transition or rebirth into eternal life, its form repeated in the shape of the doors and windows in Spanish colonial architecture. The throne and staff, were, as already discussed, transferred to the Christian Trinity to connote sovereignty.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰¹ Grabar, p. 113.

⁵⁰² The Franciscans also used actual shells to baptize.

Chapter VII

The Synthronos Trinity and the Coronation of the Virgin

From the womb before the day star I begot thee.
(Psalm 109:3)

The coronation implications of Psalm 109 and its association with the adventus and synthronos rituals continue in the representation of the identical Trinity crowning the Virgin. This imagery appeared with surprising frequency on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century retablos, panel paintings, painted medallions and on escudos de monjas (nun's medallions) from New Spain through Peru. Often used in the costuming of nuns, who were an integral part of the social and political life of the Spanish Americas, the motif remained viable throughout the viceregal period.

The association with Psalm 109 persisted because one part of the third verse, "From the womb before the day star I begot thee," had begun to develop Marian interpretations.⁵⁰³ It has already been shown how this verse had been used as a proof for the eternal generation of Christ during the early Medieval period (see Chapter III). However, since its language corresponds to a mother better than a male Deity, the Verse acquired Marian

⁵⁰³ Rebecca P. Gowen, Gerald James Larson and Pratapaditya Pal, In Her Image: the Great Goddess in Indian Asia and the Madonna in Christian Culture, (Santa Barbara: UCSB Art Museum, University of California, 1980), p. 126.

connotations during the time of the growth of the Virgin's cult, and was used as an antiphon for the feasts of Christmas, Candlemas and the Purification of Mary.⁵⁰⁴ The Marian interpretation of Verse 3 had gained wide acceptance by the twelfth century and even appeared in a manual for nuns.⁵⁰⁵ Often referring to the Immaculate Conception, Verse 3 continues the connotation of victory over enemies of the faith, in this context Lucifer and sin, which women seeking the habit aspired to emulate.

Mary's coronation and enthronement as Queen of Heaven, frequently depicted as the synthronos of Christ, was preceded by her adventus into heaven and reception by the Trinity. A corollary is Mary's reception of Christ during the Incarnation, therefore, the Annunciation is also used in conjunction with the identical Trinity. An exquisite example was painted by José de Paez in eighteenth-century Mexico. (Fig. 95)

Like the synthronos Trinity, the form of this Marian imagery had a source in late Imperial Roman representations, such as the coronation of the emperor by a divinity or by Victoria, a personification of Victory.

⁵⁰⁴ See Barbara Newman, Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), p. 57.

⁵⁰⁵ Gerda Lerner, The Creation of Feminist Consciousness, From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 63.

This motif was initiated during the Tetrarchy.⁸⁰⁶ (Fig. 96) An example can be found on a gold coin illustrating Constantine standing between Constantine II and Constantius II while being crowned with a circlet by the hand of God from a cloud.⁸⁰⁷ Constantine II is crowned by Victoria on the right, while Constantius is crowned by Virtus on the left.

Fouquet's depiction of Christ crowning the Virgin, discussed above, in the French Book of Hours of Étienne Chevalier, ca. 1453, was adapted from Jacobus de Voragine's Golden Legend. Another almost contemporary northern Renaissance example can be found on a tapestry from a series of four which portrays the Triumph of the Mother of God, woven in Brussels in the 1490s, depicting the Trinity crowning the Virgin. (Fig. 97) The weavings were created in the shop of Pieter van Aelst, tapestry master to the Emperor Maximilian I, and were purchased by Juana la loca (Joanna the Mad), daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.⁸⁰⁸ This series represents key events in the life of the Virgin, her Annunciation, the Nativity and Coronation, all symbolic of an adventus of either God to Mary or Mary

⁸⁰⁶ There was one prototype before the Tetrarchy, that of the coronation of Carinus. See MacCormack, p. 188.

⁸⁰⁷ MacCormack, p. 189.

⁸⁰⁸ Suzanne Stratton, catalogue entry, Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration, Jay A. Levenson (ed.), (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), #33. The author of the designs is unknown.

to God, as is her Coronation, when she was joyfully received into heaven.

In the center of the Coronation Mary is crowned by the Trinity and surrounded by a choir of musical angels, saints and portrayals of the Virtues with their attributes. There are royal and Biblical scenes in the tapestry's lower corners which are considered to be a reference to Juana's own marriage in 1496 to Philip, son of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy. The betrothal of David and Abigail (Sam. 25:40-42) is represented in the upper left, while the marriage of Solomon is shown in the upper right.

It is very likely that Juana commissioned the tapestries to commemorate and record the official and ceremonial events of her marriage, coronation and recognition by the Spanish cortés.⁵⁰⁹ Therefore, the royal coronation scene in the tapestry's lower left corner stresses the relationship between sacred and secular realms and is analogous to the crowning of Mary by the Trinity in the center of the tapestry. Juana and Philip were officially recognized as successors to the Spanish crown by the cortés of Castile and Aragon in 1501.⁵¹⁰ This marriage constituted a significant German, French, and Spanish

⁵⁰⁹ Stratton, #33. Stratton writes that the Holy Spirit is in the guise of an angel; however, she is mistaken, since the Holy Spirit does not have wings in this representation.

⁵¹⁰ Stratton, catalogue #33.

alliance, and these tapestries could account for the transmission of this specific Trinitarian imagery among these regions. Once again, this specific Trinitarian imagery is used in a royal and official capacity; this time to celebrate and commemorate the coronation and official recognition of a monarch. This is a completely appropriate use of the language and imagery of Psalm 109, used in this context for over two millennia. It is also another link between the adventus ceremony, Psalm 109 and the symbols of theocratic power. In fact, there was so much gold thread used to create this sumptuous tapestry series that they are known as the Paños de Oro. Finally, the association with the Virtues also continues in this work.

An oil painting on copper in the collection of the Old Mission at Santa Barbara, California, provides another example of the Trinity crowning the Virgin. (Fig. 98) This complex painting conflates the Baroque imagery of the Immaculate Conception with the Coronation of Mary and was painted in the late seventeenth to eighteenth century.²¹²

The identical Deity follow the customary American pattern, having long, curly, dark hair and white billowing robes and, as usual, only their gestures and attributes differentiate them. The Father makes a blessing sign with his right hand, while the Son shows the stigmata on his

²¹² Although the catalogue which published the painting lists Spain as a possible source, it could also have been painted in Mexico.

palms and has a lamb as his attribute, and the Holy Spirit clasps his hands over a dove on his breast.

Mary is in the exact center of the painting, already crowned and standing on a crescent moon as well as a serpent, which are placed over a representation of the earth. This image of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception is based on the convention of the Woman of the Apocalypse: she wears a crown of twelve stars and stands upon a crescent moon, while the radiance of the sun illuminates the sky. The Woman of the Apocalypse had its source in the revelation to John the Divine on Patmos, "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Rev. 12:1).¹² The book on her left is a reference to the Book of Wisdom, "against Wisdom evil does not prevail," (Wis. 7:30) while the mirror to her right symbolizes her as the speculum sine macula, the "spotless mirror of the working of God and an image of his goodness" (Wis. 7:26).¹³

The inclusion of the Trinity in this imagery exemplifies an article of faith regarding Mary's Immaculate Conception: since she was predestined from the beginning of

¹² This vision was first interpreted as the victory of the church over its enemies, then as a personification of the church Mater Ecclesia, later as Mary herself. See Marina Warner, Alone of All Her Sex: the Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary, (New York: Knopf, 1976), p. 93.

¹³ Gowen, p. 126.

time, she was spared original sin.²¹⁴ This accords with Ecclesiasticus 24:9: "From eternity, in the beginning he created me, and for eternity I shall not cease to exist."

A disputed issue that was not declared dogma for another century, the Immaculate Conception was championed by the Franciscans. Therefore, it is no surprise that this type of imagery became very common in Franciscan-dominated seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New Spain and Peru.

Because the identical Trinity of the eighteenth century, in particular, is linked with the Coronation of the Virgin in the Spanish Americas, we can trace a correlation of this imagery with Psalm 109 and coronation rituals, as well as with mystery plays, and can surmise that they were enacted throughout the Spanish Americas. The crowning of sculptures of the Virgin was an important ceremony in the "New World," and this ritual continues on an annual basis in Santa Fe, New Mexico. An advocacy of the Virgin Mary, La Conquistadora, the patroness of the reconquest of New Mexico in 1692 from the Pueblo tribes, is a sixteenth-century sculpture which is crowned with great ceremony in the Cathedral of Santa Fe, after the ritual conquest of New Mexico is staged (the Entrada, see above). The ceremony consists of a procession, the recitation of Psalms during vespers, an incensing of both La Conquistadora and crown by the priest, and finally an

²¹⁴ Gowen, p. 126.

enthronement and coronation of this sculpture.¹⁵ The crown-bearing procession makes its way down the center aisle of the cathedral while singing the Sanctus in Spanish. The singing of the Sanctus usually denotes the most sacred part of the Mass; therefore, using it in this context demonstrates the importance of this ritual activity. Immediately afterward the sculpture and crown are incensed by the priest and the fiesta queen crowns La Conquistadora. A prayer which is an act of reconsecration of the "Kingdom of New Mexico" is also read during this ceremony.¹⁶ The official prayer of La Conquistadora shows the continuing relationship of these ceremonies with the ancient goals of conquest and conversion of infidels,

...O Lady Conqueror, through Jesus Who is the Prince of Peace and our Universal King, convert by His Divine Power which is above all human might the infidels and all the enemies of His peace.¹⁷

Staging a reconsecration of this type is an action with both historical and symbolic significance. La

¹⁵ Grimes, p. 61.

¹⁶ Grimes, p. 82-3. The prayer, written by Pius VII for the Marian Year 1954, was modified slightly for this occasion and is read as the act of reconsecration. The last time New Mexico was officially reconsecrated was 1771.

¹⁷ Quoted in Grimes, p. 221. The feast day of Our Lady of the Rosary, related to La Conquistadora, is the first Sunday in October. It was set at this time to commemorate the victory of the Christians over the Saracens in the naval battle of Lepanto, 1571. This advocacy of Mary was as the patroness of the Spanish fleets. (p. 238)

Conquistadora is Mater Ecclesia and an expression of royal civitas.²¹⁰ In a comparable way, priests and civic leaders have a balanced and parallel role in this solemn rite, allegorically continuing the theocracy which originally conquered New Spain. Although La Conquistadora's devotees have recently endeavored to reinterpret her as a symbol of coexistence, calling her "Our Lady of Peace," in reality her processions crystalize the status system in both its religious and civic forms. The social and political forces which placed European descendants on top and natives on the bottom of the hierarchy is annually reinforced.²¹¹ This is analogous with the message of the Entrada of de Vargas, staged during the same annual fiesta.

La Conquistadora, Mater Ecclesia, like the images of the Trinity on the retablos, define the city of Santa Fe as the Heavenly Jerusalem.²²⁰ In the hymn "Adios, reina del Cielo," Mary is addressed through her relationship with the members of the Trinity, "daughter of the Father, mother of the Son, spouse of the Holy Spirit."²²¹

²¹⁰ The sculpture's full title is "Nuestra Señora del Rosario, La Conquistadora, Reina y Patrona del Antiguo Reino de la Nuevo México y de su Villa Real de Santa Fé," which translates as, "Our Lady of the Rosary, the Conqueress, Queen, and Patroness of the Ancient Kingdom of New Mexico and the Royal City of Santa Fe." See Grimes, p. 219.

²¹¹ Grimes, p. 69.

²²⁰ Grimes, p. 230.

²²¹ Grimes, p. 237.

To return to visual examples, a painting from the viceroyalty of Peru, created by an anonymous artist during the eighteenth century, shows the Virgin being crowned by the identical, synthronos Trinity. (Fig. 99) Dressed in sophisticated liturgical robes, the Deity are completely alike except for the fact that God the Father is the only one without a scepter. This is obviated by the strict symmetry which is observed; the Son and Holy Spirit hold scepters in their outer hands to balance each other, while their inner hands assist the Father, who uses both of his hands to crown Mary. Gabrielle Palmer goes along with Gisbert in stating that the reason the Spanish Americas ignored the ban on representing the Trinity as three identical men was the fear that the dove of the Holy Spirit might be misunderstood by the Native Americans as a sign of animist belief.²²² However, the dove and lamb continue to be used as attributes.

Another Peruvian example is a depiction of "Our Lady of the Rosary," which has a similar type of symmetrically disposed identical Trinity crowning Mary, who holds a crowned Christ child on her left arm. (Fig. 100) She is flanked by Joseph on her right and an archangel on her left. Hierarchically scaled, she towers over the other personages in this oil painting, even proportioned larger

²²² Palmer, Cambios: The Spirit of Transformation in Spanish Colonial Art, p. 38.

than the Trinity. As in the illustration discussed earlier from the Mission Santa Barbara, Mary stands on a crescent moon and has a mirror as an attribute, referring to her purity and her Woman of the Apocalypse association. All of these examples show the Trinity enthroned in heaven among the clouds, which has been pointed out as a New Testament derivation of the language of Psalm 109, "Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven" (Matt. 26:64). Tiny angels scattered throughout its complex relief surface reinforce this conception of heaven. The elaborate gilded and polychromed frame of this work from Cuzco is typical of mestizo Baroque in Peru as well as Mexico.

A related example from nineteenth-century Peru can be found as a painted medallion in a locket frame depicting Mary of the Immaculate Conception being crowned Queen of Heaven by the identical Trinity. (Fig. 101) This medallion is believed to have been created in the Cajamarca region of northern Peru, since the practice of reverse painting on glass was quite popular there.²²³ On the obverse is Our Lady of Carmel, beseeched by an anima, a Soul in Purgatory, continuing the relationship of the identical Trinity with Last Judgment themes. The strictly symmetrical Trinity are enthroned in heaven, this time with stylized volute-shaped clouds bearing the Son and Holy

²²³ Fane, p. 243.

Spirit, who both hold glittering scepters.

Another intricate example from Peru was painted by Gaspar Miguel de Berrío, of the Potosí School, ca. 1760. Hierarchically scaled, the Virgin stands in the center of this work on an orb holding three cherubs and a serpent. (Fig. 102) The identical, synthronos Trinity, finely robed, bear a crown, while Christ and the Holy Spirit also hold scepters. The central coronation scene is encircled by representations of archangels, saints and martyrs.

More elaborate types of medallions with similar imagery can be found in New Spain on escudos de monja, a hagiographic badge derived from the Early Christian practice of wearing relicarios, reliquary locket.²⁴ By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in New Spain, these lockets consisted of devotional imagery, rather than actual relics of saints. While many were done by the leading painters of Mexico, only a few have the artist's signature, since it was not customary for even renowned painters to sign devotional works.²⁵

The earliest types appear to have been silk embroidery of the Virgin, saints and the Trinity, while later examples are miniature oil paintings, often delicately executed on copper. An example in silk

²⁴ Martha J. Egan, "Escudos de Monjas," Latin American Art, volume 5, number 4 (1994), p. 43.

²⁵ Egan, p. 46.

embroidery with faces painted in oil is now in the Franz Mayer Museum in Mexico City. (Fig. 103) It represents the Trinity, with carefully delineated triangular haloes, crowning the Virgin, who is accompanied by St. John the Baptist and other saints and cherubs. The escudos's central images were most often an advocacy of Mary, her Immaculate Conception, Annunciation, or Coronation, which were frequently, but not always, accompanied by the identical Trinity.

In an example by one of the leading painters of colonial Mexico, José de Paez (ca. 1720-90), the Annunciation is presided over by the identical synthronos Trinity. (Fig. 95) This imagery links back to the mystery play the "Drama of the Virtues" (discussed above, Chapter V) which featured the Trinity as dramatis persona in the last episode where Mercy, Justice, Truth and Peace debate the Incarnation. The fifteenth-century example from the Golden Legend discussed above also includes the Annunciation located just below the Trinity, a similar format to the escudo de monja under consideration. It is very likely that religious theater and ritual in New Spain and Peru were responsible for the transmission of this imagery, since the Coronation of Mary could have been enacted by all three members of the Trinity. Numerous male and female saints are also depicted who could be those to whom the nun or her convent were especially devoted, or the

name saints of a nun's family to remind her to pray for the spiritual welfare of her relatives.⁵²⁶

The escudos were most often worn by members of the concepcionista order, the first religious order for women to be founded in New Spain.⁵²⁷ The original novitiates included daughters of the conquistadors, and only wealthy white women born in Spain or in the Americas of Spanish parents were admitted throughout the colonial period. Life was far from ascetic in these convents, since the nuns occupied suites of rooms and had servants to cook and clean for them as well as favorecidas, favored companions, and younger relatives to care for and instruct.⁵²⁸

Manuel Serna (active ca. 1690-1700) was another major colonial artist who painted escudos and his oil painting on copper now in the Hispanic Society Collection represents the identical Trinity crowning the Virgin, surrounded by a myriad of saints. (Fig. 104) An accompanying feature are two flanking Sacred Hearts: one encircled by a crown of thorns and surmounted by a cross, the other pierced by a sword.⁵²⁹

A final example which is now in the Denver Art Museum

⁵²⁶ Egan, p. 44.

⁵²⁷ Egan, p. 44.

⁵²⁸ Egan, p. 44.

⁵²⁹ The veneration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus became widespread during the seventeenth century. Hall, p. 146.

also depicts the identical synthronos Trinity crowning the Virgin and is flanked by analogous hearts. (Fig. 105) In both cases, the heart encircled with thorns is positioned next to Christ, on the right hand of the Father, who is invariably in the center. Thus the heart has become the Son's attribute in these miniature paintings.

Crowned Nuns

Within the engaging "crowned nun" portrait tradition of eighteenth-century New Spain examples of the identical Trinity can also be found. (Fig. 106) Most of the painters are anonymous, but some are known to be the leading painters of colonial Mexico. After religious themes, portrait painting was the most important genre of the viceregal period, since there was little interest in landscapes, still lifes, mythological or even historical subjects. The name "crowned nun" derives from the elaborate headdress of flowers which adorns these sitters, who were novices about to take their final vows and enter a convent.²³⁰ When taking her final vows, or profession, a novice became the symbolic bride of Christ. As a result, both rites and costume included features of a traditional

²³⁰ The information in this section is partially drawn upon my article, "The Contested Past: The Crowned Nun Portrait Tradition of Colonial Mexico," Artifact, volume 1, number 4 (January/February 1996), p. 23-4.

bridal ceremony. The portrait and ritual which accompanied the profession were paid for by the sitter's family. They were the final validation of her status in society and would become a commemorative work hung with pride in the family home.²⁹¹ The extravagant apparel, as is evident in this portrait, is understandable only in a society which was centered around the court. This portrait custom, with its sumptuous costuming and profusion of flowers, evokes both the European milieu surrounding the eighteenth-century viceregal court as well as remnants of indigenous Aztec influence in the profuse use of flowers.²⁹²

Surrounded by brightly colored flowers, holding a crucifix and a ceremonial beeswax candle, the sitter looks thoughtfully out of the portrait. She was a Poor Clare, a member of the female Franciscan order named after Saint Clare of Assisi (d. 1253), the co-founder. The embroidered representations of this holy woman and Saint Francis, which are draped over the front of the nun's habit on an orphrey make this apparent.²⁹³ Another clue is the Franciscan coat-of-arms, the crossed arms of Christ and Saint Francis,

²⁹¹ Juana Gutiérrez Haces, Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries, p. 369.

²⁹² Marcus B. Burke, Spain and New Spain: Mexican Colonial Arts in Their European Context, (Corpus Christi: Art Museum of South Texas, 1979), p. 115.

²⁹³ For a gloss of orphrey as a band, usually embroidered, affixed to ecclesiastical vestments, see Dominguez, p. 357.

on the base of the ornately embossed candle.

An embroidered representation of the identical Trinity lies in the center of the orphrey. A less extravagant counterpart to the escudo de monja, the orphrey had a similar theological and decorative function. Given the Spiritual Franciscan emphasis on a strict vow of poverty, it was more appropriate for Poor Clares to wear this restrained form of costuming than to have the escudos favored by concepcionista and Jeronymite nuns. The deities are wearing different colored robes. The Father, in the center, is clothed in red and makes a blessing sign with his right hand; the Son, on his right, is opening his blue robe to show his stigmata; and the Holy Spirit, in white, has his hand on a tiny silver globe.

Within the crowned nun portrait tradition, the imagery continued the association with Psalm 109:3, referring to the Immaculate Conception and the Virgin's victory over sin. As discussed above, Mary, standing on a serpent, was usually included in depictions of this type along with the Trinity. Even in this abbreviated version, the reference would have been understood by the religious of Colonial Mexico. Since belief in the Immaculate Conception was championed by the Franciscans yet was not declared dogma for another century, this particular imagery worn by a member of the Poor Clares functioned as a wordless reminder

of partisan belief.

A similar painting of Sor Ana Josefa Maria de Jesus of the Santa Clara convent of the city of Puebla again represents the identical Trinity on the orphrey, but with the tiny globe of universal sovereignty positioned in the exact center of the oval image. (Fig. 107)

Thus, even in this very abbreviated version, the implications of conquest over enemies of the faith continue in the imagery under consideration. In this context, the enemy is Lucifer, and the polemical issue is the Immaculate Conception of Mary. This is reinforced by the fact that the motif of the identical, synthronos Trinity was most often worn by Franciscan-affiliated members of the Poor Clares or concepcionistas, who were daughters of the conquistadors and champions of the belief in Mary's Immaculate Conception.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

Among other duties pleasing to the Divine Majesty and dear to our heart, the most impelling indeed is that the Catholic faith and Christian religion be particularly exalted in our day and everywhere spread and enlarged, so that souls be saved and barbaric peoples be humbled and brought to the faith.³³³

Expressed through this passage written by Pope Alexander VI in 1493, the conquest of the Americas must be understood within the larger political context of a European desire for domination and world sovereignty. A goal since the Early Christian era, this ambition was given an unimaginably wider scope after the watershed year of 1492 and is the key to understanding the meaning of the identical, synthronos Trinity. It is both a prophesy of and a justification for Christian conquest and missionization within Europe as well as the Americas. Whereas Spanish colonial artworks have often been romanticized as exotic survivors of a remote past, a contextual interpretation must be willing to examine ideology, politics, and the embattled milieu in which post-conquest imagery was used to arrive at a more complete view of the hybrid nature of colonial culture.

The asymmetrical interactions and representations which characterized the treatment of alterity in Medieval and Renaissance Europe (Jews, Muslims, heretics) were transferred to the Americas. Renaissance humanism did not

³³³ From the bull of Alexander VI in 1493, quoted in Sylvest, p. 13.

extend to these ostracized groups; thus, analyzing the motif in question can indicate the limits of this philosophy during the sixteenth century.⁵³⁶

The first half of this study examined doctrinal differences and the background of heresy against which belief in this mystery of the faith developed in order to formulate a contextual understanding of the origin and development of the identical, synthronos iconography. In explaining why the "Old Testament" Trinity could not have been a prototype, although it has been posited as the only possible source by scholars of colonial art to date, I have relied upon an analysis of the disparate theological understanding about the Trinity between the eastern and western Christian Churches during the Medieval period, as well as differences in the imagery itself. Theological distinctions between the two Churches, in fact, centered around interpretations of the Trinity and became the reason for their final rupture. The eastern Church believed that the Holy Spirit proceeded only from the Father, whereas the western Church maintained that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and "from the Son" (the filioque clause). Beginning in the Carolingian period of the late eighth century, the Greek Orthodox Church was often believed to be

⁵³⁶ See Farago et al for a discussion of other aspects of this issue, including a re-evaluation of the Renaissance in order to arrive at a more complete view of cultural interaction going both ways between Europe and the Americas circa 1450-1650.

"Other," comparable to the Jews, Muslims and heretics; thus, a prototype for the identical, synthronos Trinity is very unlikely to have come from this domain. Indeed, western Christians did not have to look far for a source closer to home: the synthronos of Roman Emperors represented in coinage, silver plate, and manuscripts provided numerous examples.

Roman sources provided the form, while scriptural sources provided the meaning for this imagery. Based upon Psalm 109 and this text's New Testament derivations (credo and Gloria), the synthronos Trinity was both an image of hegemony over enemies of the faith, as well as a justification for universal dominion. Belief in the Trinity fundamentally differentiates Christianity from Judaism, Islam, Arianism and Adoptionism. This issue was critically important within Medieval Spain because of the large numbers of peoples who professed these faiths.⁵³⁷

The stress upon identity in dogma and imagery wordlessly countermanded heretical threats, as well as emphasized the difference of the Christian Deity from Jews, Muslims, heretics and those of Greek Orthodox faith. It would eventually do the same with Native Americans, who were first regarded as the lost tribes of Israel or as

⁵³⁷ This imagery was especially prominent in the contiguous geographical area of north-eastern Spain (Catalonia), southern France (Provence, Languedoc and Roussillon) and north-western Italy (Piedmont).

Arabs. Furthermore, the identical, synthronos Trinity had the least resemblance of any of the standard Triune Deity forms to Native American imagery or beliefs, which were in the process of being eliminated. Psalm 109 and its New Testament derivations express in word and imagery Augustine's mystical "City of God" ruled over by the Trinity, a Christian utopian paradise believed by the conquistadors and friars to have been found in the Americas.

Psalm 109 was chanted during stagings of the Royal Entry ritual in Medieval monasteries, when abbot and monks welcomed secular rulers. An important part of the post-conquest theater of power, this welcoming (adventus) ritual conveyed to the Native peoples facts about the newly established colonial hierarchy, as well as their social and political status. It was enacted throughout the Spanish Americas because it was the ceremony par excellence of conquest and colonization, representation and power. Ritualized encounters between religious and political realms, adventus ceremonies persisted for more than fifteen centuries because they helped to keep the theocracy of western Europe, then of Spanish Colonial America, in place. From the moment the conquistadors overpowered the native peoples they staged this theatrical ceremony which was designed to interpret for them the meaning of their political defeat and of Spanish sovereignty and Christian

hegemony. The conquistadors and friars who enacted these rituals believed they represented a quasi-constitutional justification for conquest and colonization. These ceremonials formed part of the symbolics of power, central to the structure of any society, but particularly expedient when two such radically different cultures as Renaissance Europe and Native America (Aztec, Inca, Pueblo) came together. Furthermore, the formidable language barriers made ritual and imagery especially important for communication. The synthronos Trinity had an important role to play in this conquest drama since it was a visual counterpart to these ceremonies. The relationship between Psalm 109, the adventus ritual, and the synthronos Trinity became encoded in this esoteric type of Trinity, and continued to inform all subsequent uses, including its colonial manifestations. These components were part of a theological matrix in Catholic thought and ritual which was transplanted in its entirety to the Americas. The ultimate purpose of this imagery was didactic; it taught Native Americans about the scriptures, the credo and Gloria, and the dogma of the Catholic church, as well as their status as subaltern.

Tapestries and manuscripts illustrating the Drama of the Virtues are some of the most important and numerous examples of identical synthronismoi in late-Medieval Europe. They emphasized the complete identity of the

Three Persons which was so important in maintaining orthodox belief. Garbed in the regalia of secular and ecclesiastical power, the Triune Deity represent universal authority enthroned in heaven, an image of the "City of God" and the New Jerusalem which was correspondingly depicted in the retablos and retablo façades created throughout the Americas.

The late-fifteenth- through eighteenth-century use of Psalm 109:3 in the context of the identical Trinity crowning the Virgin continues the theme of conquest over enemies of the faith, this time Lucifer himself, relevant within the framework of Franciscan defense of the Immaculate Conception. Furthermore, the designation of certain sculptures of Mary as La Conquistadora, patroness of the conquest and symbol of the conversion of non-believers to Christianity, continues the polemical focus of this imagery.

It is especially ironic that the identical Trinity, having been used as a tool against heresy by the Roman Catholic Church, was later prohibited by that very church in Europe, yet remained so prominent in Latin America--the bastion of the "New World" orthodoxy and Counter-Reformation. Important goals for the Counter Reformation within Europe were to regularize imagery and enforce decorum in representation. In this atmosphere, the Vatican banned the representation of the Holy Spirit in human form

in 1623, and reiterated the proscription in 1745. However, other issues were more pressing in the Americas. There are three primary reasons why the contested imagery was used in the Americas in spite of the European ban from the church leadership: 1) the message of universal sovereignty represented by the enthroned Trinity along with their attributes of secular and sacred power were deemed to be of special relevance in the conquest of the "New World," 2) the image of an identical Triune Deity stressed the contested equality in nature and power of Christ and the Holy Spirit, 3) this prototype has the least resemblance to Native sacred forms, thus would not encourage cross-over from Christian to pre-conquest faiths. A compelling image, it was used in the Americas until the twentieth century.

On the other hand, the syncretic nature of Spanish colonial culture was too pervasive to allow even this image to remain unmediated. Thus, God the Father usually acquired a Native American "Sun-God" attribute in his colonial manifestation. The European desire to eliminate every trace of Native spiritual practices had not been completely successful. San José de Laguna, New Mexico is an example where Pueblo artists added a cielo, composed of native cosmological imagery, over the retablo depicting the identical, synthronos Trinity. Thus, in some cases Native peoples were able to modify the hegemony of even this symbol of Christian sovereignty.

Because the Spanish monarchs were granted almost unlimited religious and secular authority in the Americas in return for the obligation to oversee the conversion of Native peoples, the Spanish conquest was far more than a coming together, or an encounter, between European and Native American cultures. It was instead the attempt to establish a system of religious, political, social and military authority of a European minority over a Native majority. Since the language of the requieremento itself undertook the conquest of the Americas in the name of the Trinity, it is clear that orthodox belief in the Triune God continued to have great significance to the conquistadors and missionaries who ventured overseas, as well as to the popes, monarchs, theologians and political theorists who formulated colonial policy within Spain and the Vatican. This importance is echoed in the use of Trinitarian imagery throughout the colonial period, whether it is as a tiny representation on an escudo de monja or on a retablo or retablo façade. Whether microcosm or macrocosm, the identical, synthronos Trinity displays the aggressive Christian ideology presented through imagery which helped to justify and inaugurate the conquest and colonization of the Spanish Americas.



Figure 1, Map of the Americas, circa 1776



Figure 2, Miguel Cabrera, "Trinity," Collection of Museo Regional de Guadalupe, City of Zacatecas, Zacatecas County, Mexico, ca. 1750



Figure 3, "Abraham and the Three Angels," Miniature from the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg, ca. 1210, Chantilly, Musée Condé 1695, f. 10v (Braunfels)



Figure 4, Titian, Trinity "Gloria," detail, oil on canvas, ca. 1551-4, 3.46 x2.40 m., Prado Museum, Madrid

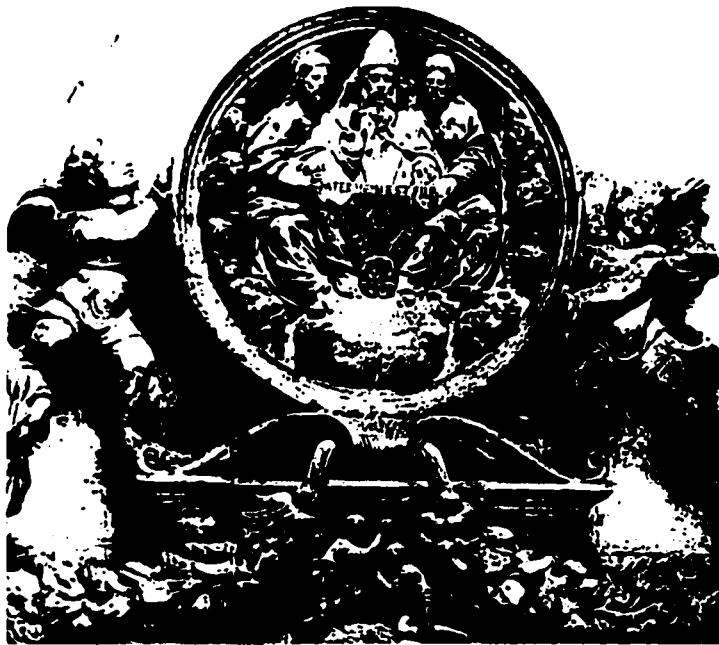


Figure 5, Pedro Moreto, The Holy Trinity, stone relief sculpture, Chapel of San Bernardo, Spain, 1555



Figure 6, "The Creation of Eve," Lateran Museum, Christian sarcophagus, 4th century A.D.



Figure 7, "The Creation of Eve," Lateran Museum, Christian sarcophagus, 4th century A.D. (enlarged detail of Trinity)



Figure 8, Creation Scene from Genesis, "Separation of Light from Darkness," folio 6 verso, Walter Bible, Austria, 12th century



Figure 9a, Gold medallion, Constantine II (center) with Constans and Constantius II, A.D. 338 (Kantorowicz)

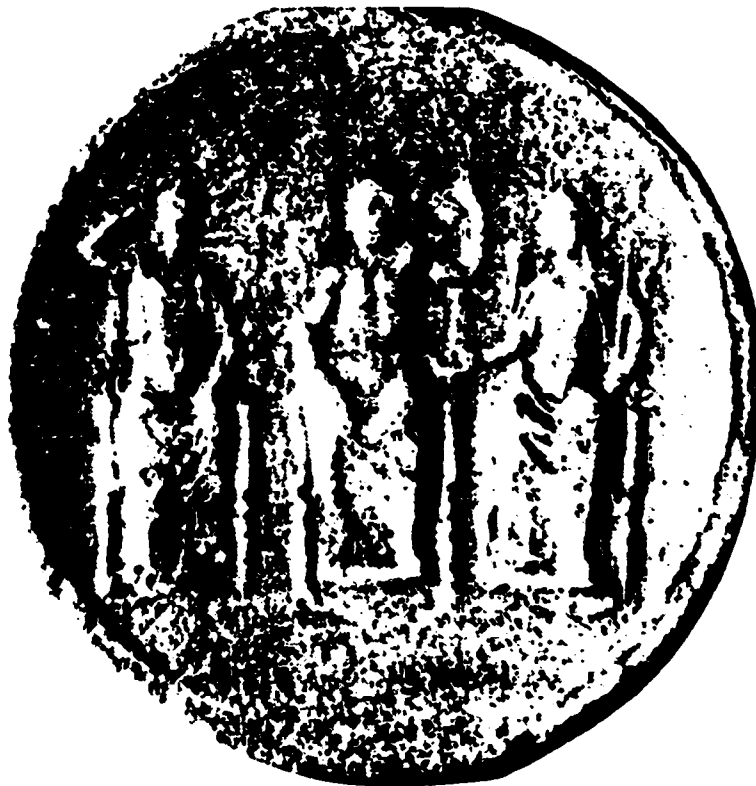


Figure 9b, AE medallion of Antoninus Pius with Capitoline triad (Brilliant)



Figure 10, Bronze multiple of Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea, Reverse, "Temporum Felicitas," Alexander Severus enthroned on a starry globe. (MacCormack)



Figure 11, Triumphal Procession on Commemorative Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna, ca. A.D. 210 (Boardman)

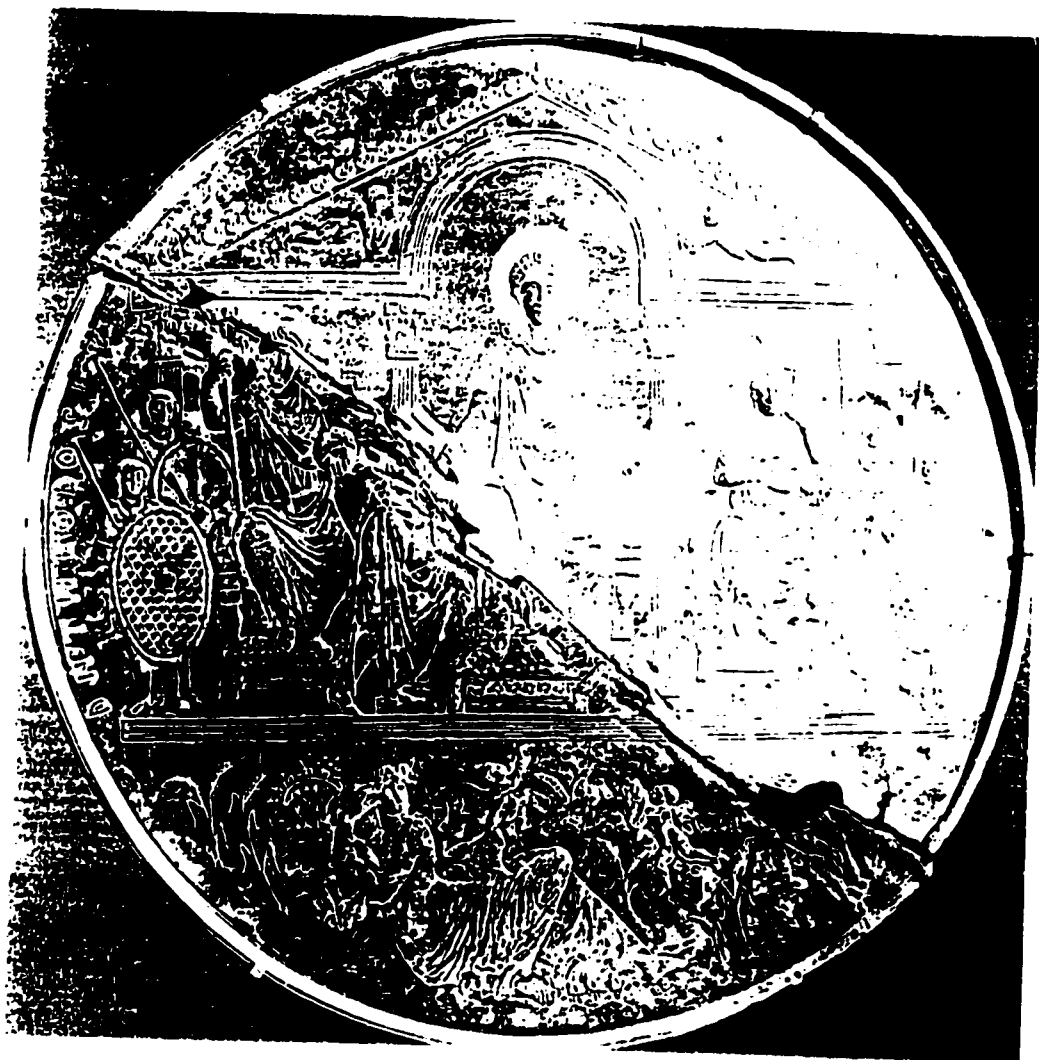


Figure 12, "The Missorium of Theodosius," AD 388, silver with traces of gilding, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid



Figure 13, Anonymous miniature, "The Council of the Gods," from the Roman Vergil, 5th century, Vatican (Mathews)



Figure 14, Matfré Ermengaud, "The Trinity," Breviari d'Amor, Provençal, 1288 (Escorial, MS S.1.3), f.XVIR.
 (Photo: Fotografia Cedida y Autorizada por el Patrimonio Nacional) (Pamplona)



Figure 15, Psalm 109, Ulrich Psalter, ca. 820, Reims, folio 64 v. (Dewald)



Figure 16, "The Seal of Godwin," Psalm 109, ivory, Anglo-Saxon, late 10th or early 11th century, Collection of the British Museum, London



Figure 17, Detail of trinity fresco, left lateral wall, Scarnafigi, Cappella della santissima Trinità, Italy, ca. 1430 (Snow-Smith)



**Figure 18, Trinity fresco, left lateral wall, Scarnafigi,
Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Italy, ca. 1430
(Snow-Smith)**



Figure 19, "Quinity" of Winchester, folio 75 verso,
Officium Trinitatis, ca. 1012



Figure 20, Pharaoh Horemheb seated at the right hand of the god Horus, sculpture, white limestone, h.1.52m, base 37x75 cm, Horemheb, 1345-18 B.C. (Keel, 353)

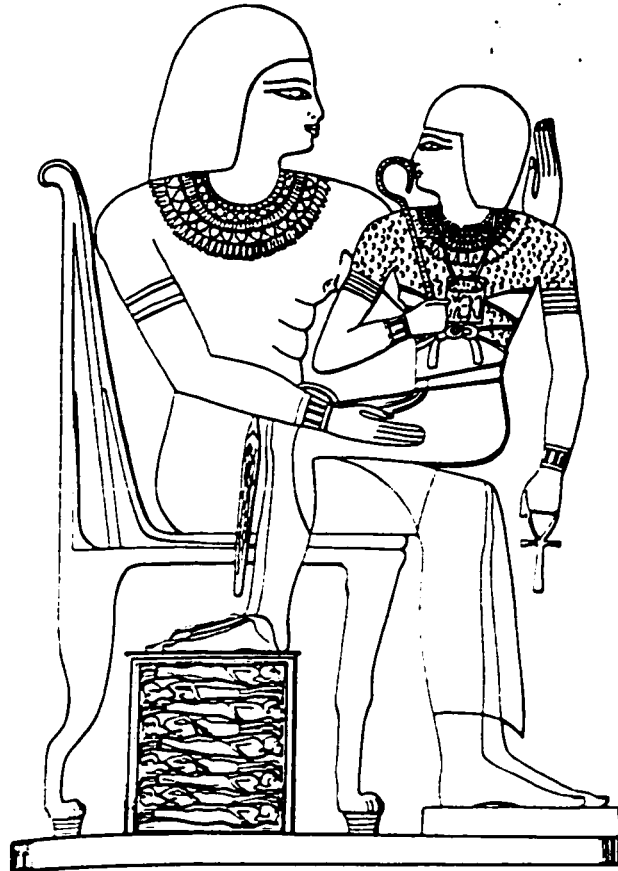


Figure 21, Painting, Abd el-Qurna, tomb of Hekaerneh,
Thut-mose IV, 1422-13 B.C., (Keel, 342)

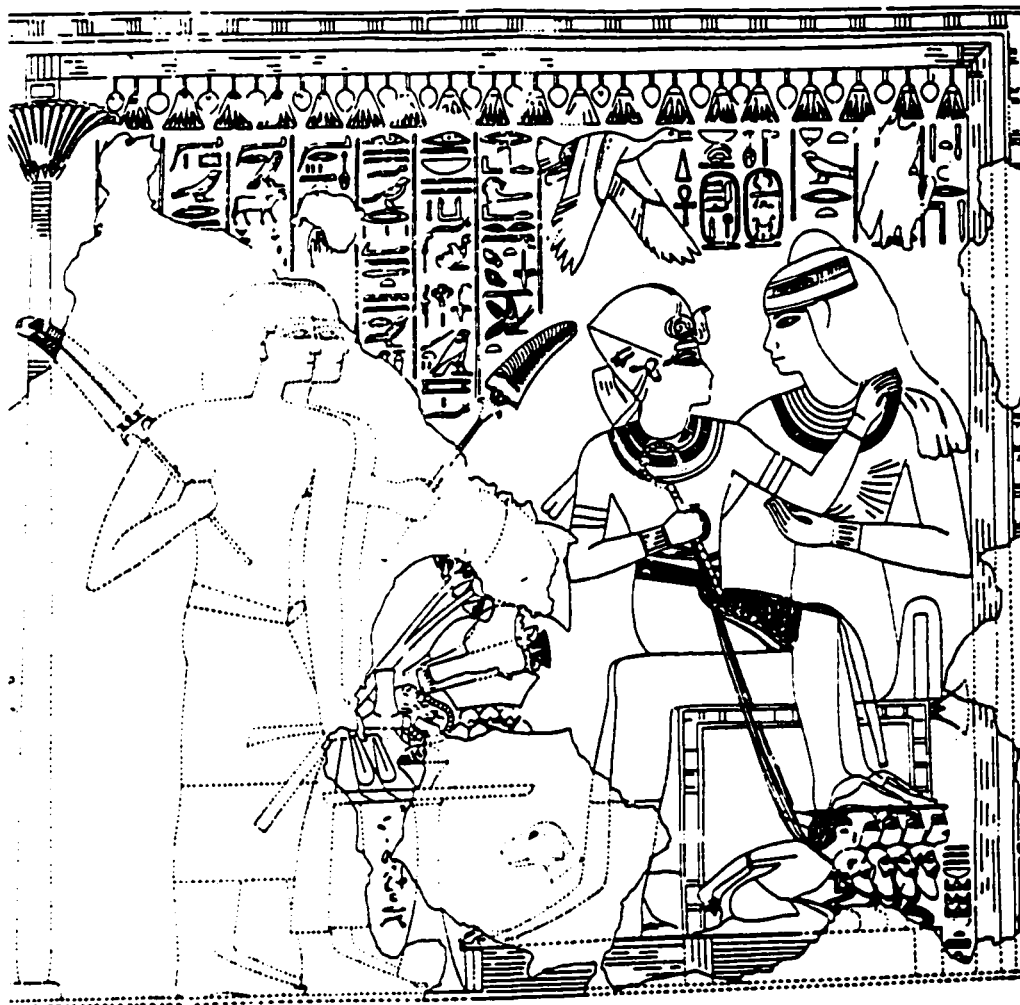


Figure 22, Painting, Abd el-Qurna, tomb of Kanamon (no. 93), Amenophis II, 1448-22 B.C. (Keel, 341, detail)



Figure 23, "Rex Gloria," French psalter of Odbert, marginal drawing of Psalm 24, A.D. 986-1007, Boulogne, Bibl. Mun. ms 20, fol. 29v (photo: Susan Lowry)



Figure 24, Tonás Giner, "Saint Vincent," (center of retablo), ca. 1400, Spanish, Madrid, Prado (Sobré)

DIETUR SYRISTRA



SCULETUR ME OSCULO

QUIS SCIT QUIA MELIORA SUNT
 ubera tua quam pinguenta unguentis
 optimis. Oclum et faciem nominatiui.

Figure 25, Crowned Ecclesia on Christ's right hand, Synagoga underfoot. Montalcino, Museo Civico, "Biblia atlantica," f. 56, 12th century. Reproduced by permission of the Sovrintendenza dei Beni Culturali ed Artistici, Siena. (Photo: Lensini)

Quant nous enuon
 stes nre saint augle
 gabriel ala uierge ma
 rie dite et annoncer la
 nouuelle et le conseil
 de nre loy beau sur dicit
 si comme et fu uoir no
 uuelles regarder en
 paine et nous doner nre
 saunt misericorde. Am.
 Quant nre qu'es icelles



Dont dieu
 pour par
 saunt en
 nre. J. dieu beau sur
 dieu se nous requies
 conseil et aid en son
 uer et ala uierge ma
 rie de ceuy hautesne co
 sel que nous preuist
 de nre ppe sapience et

et de leur mes amon
 de. Ave maria gra.
Ave maria gra.
 O rano. rō. ad bini
 maria p gaudiū qd
 mit dit assumpis sic.
Confonde la
 me pour jrd
 le grant roie que no
 mistes au iour de nre
 assumpcion quant
 me dit: filz nous por
 ta se adre et nous co
 donna sur toutes fr
 mes du monde. Don
 ce pries li pour moy
 et pour tous pechieux
 et toutes pechieuses
 que par sa digne pui
 saunt ilz aient uolent
 d'oir loys de leur pechie



Figure 26, Limbourg Brothers, "The Duke and Duchess of Berry Praying to the Trinity," detail, Belles Heures du Duc de Berry, ca. 1410

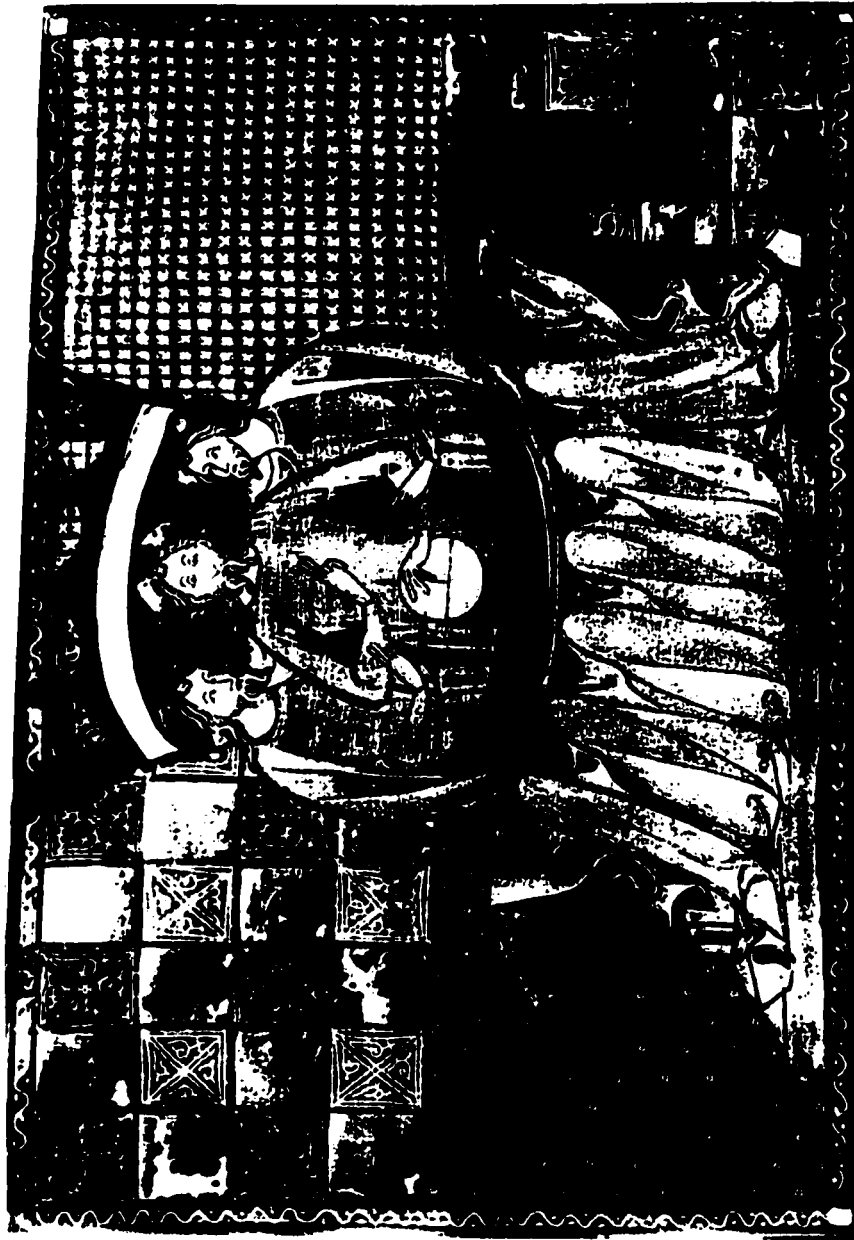


Figure 28, Missal, 1362, Collection of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse, MS 91, f. 121r. (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Hamburger)



Figure 29, The Trinity, Miniature in the Croy-Arenberg Book of Hours, folio 195v, late 15th century, Bruges, Collection of the Dukes of Arenberg (Smeyers)



Figure 31, "The Reception of Charles by the Archbishop of Rheims at the West Door of the Cathedral Church on his Arrival the Day Before his Coronation," miniature, The Coronation Book of Charles V (Cottonian Ms. Tiberius B. VIII, ca. 1365, folio 35 (Dewick))



Figure 32, "The Delivery of the Scepter and the Hand of Justice to Charles V by the Archbishop," miniature, The Coronation Book of Charles V (Cottonian Ms. Tiberius B. VIII, ca. 1365, folio 58 (Dewick))

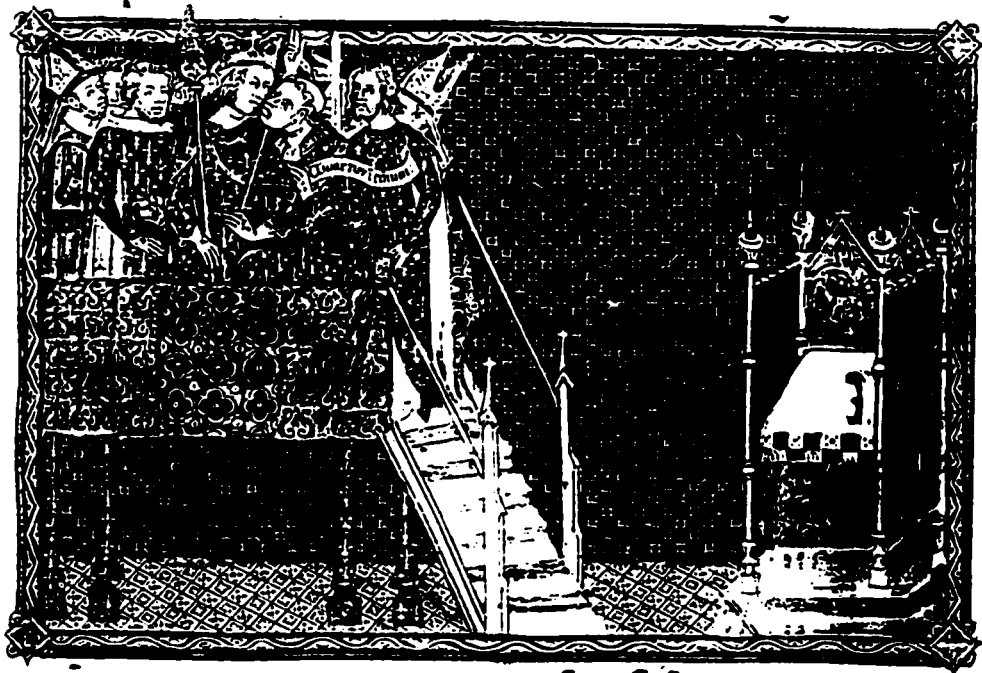


Figure 33, "King Charles Receives the Kiss of his Peers," miniature, The Coronation Book of Charles V (Cottonian Ms. Tiberius B. VIII, ca. 1365, folio 64 (Dewick))



Figure 34, Pablo de Lacarre, "Trinity," Retablo mayor of San Carlos, Zaragoza, Spain, 1725-36 (Pamplona)



Figure 35, Largitio bowl, Adventus of Constantius II,
Collection of the Hermitage, Leningrad (MacCormack)

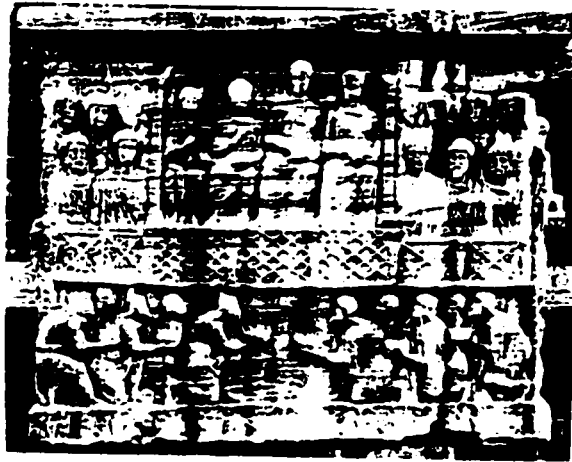


Figure 36, Obelisk base of Theodosius, Istanbul, Emperor on top register, lower register: submission of the Persians (left) and northern barbarians (right), who bring gifts (MacCormack)

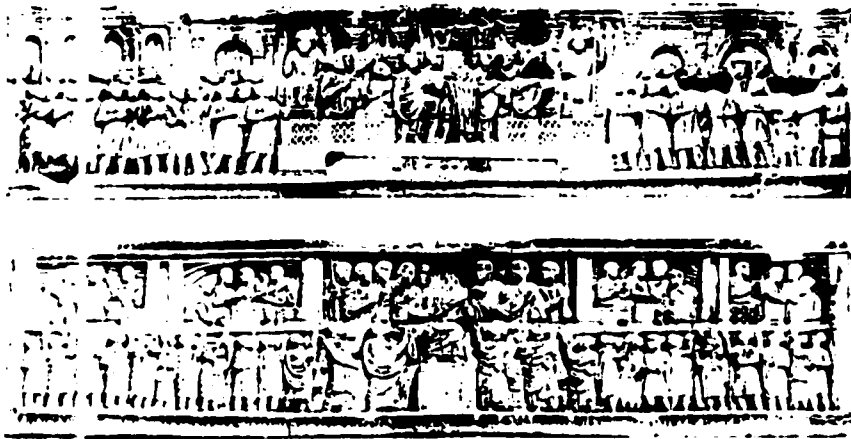


Figure 37, The synthronos of the Emperor Constantine and his court and subjects. Arch of Constantine, Rome, 4th century (MacCormack)

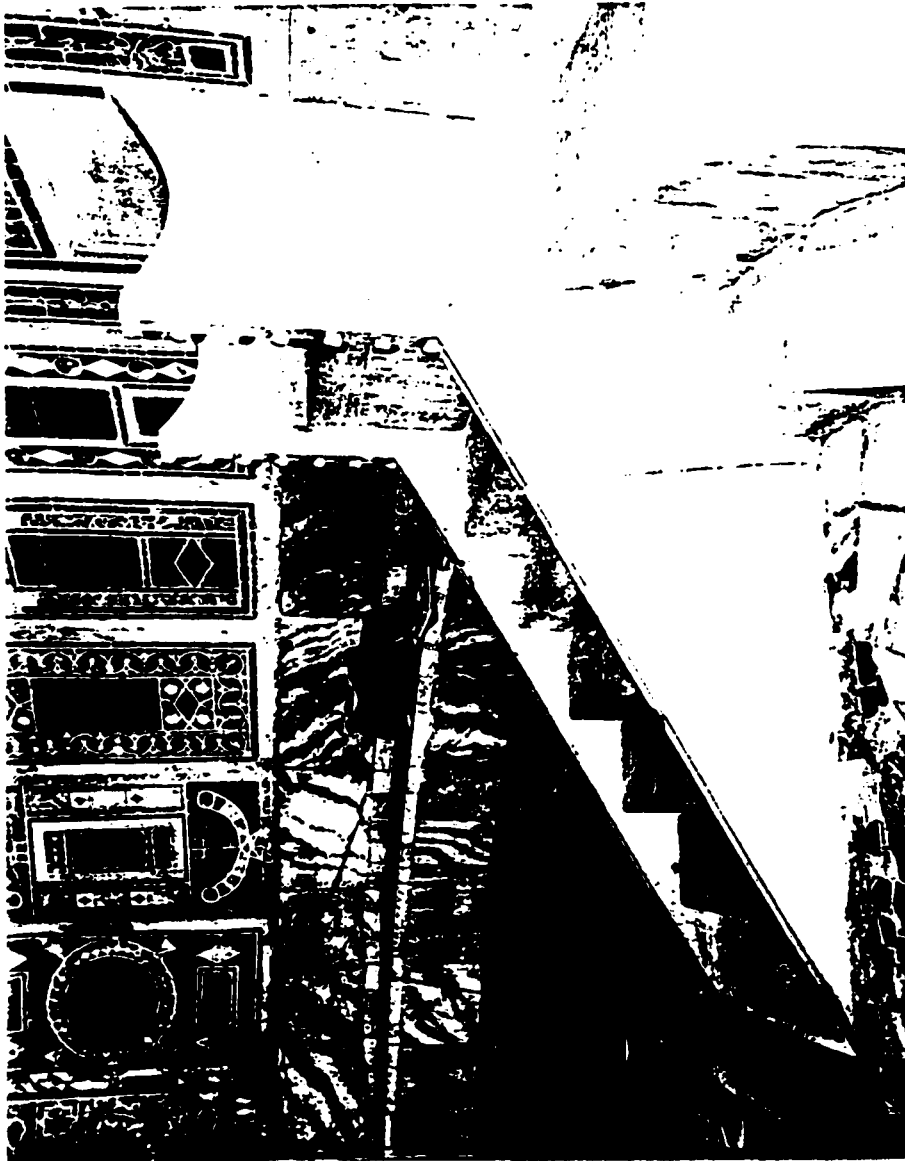


Figure 38, Cathedra and Synthronon of the Basilica Euphrasiana, Parenzo, c. 550 (Mathews)



Figure 39, St. Pudenziana, Rome, Italy, c. 400, reconstruction sketch showing bishop's cathedra beneath the apse mosaic showing Christ enthroned (Mathews)



Figure 40, Apse with Synthronon below (behind the altar) of the Basilica Euphrasiana, Parenzo, c. 550 (Mathews)

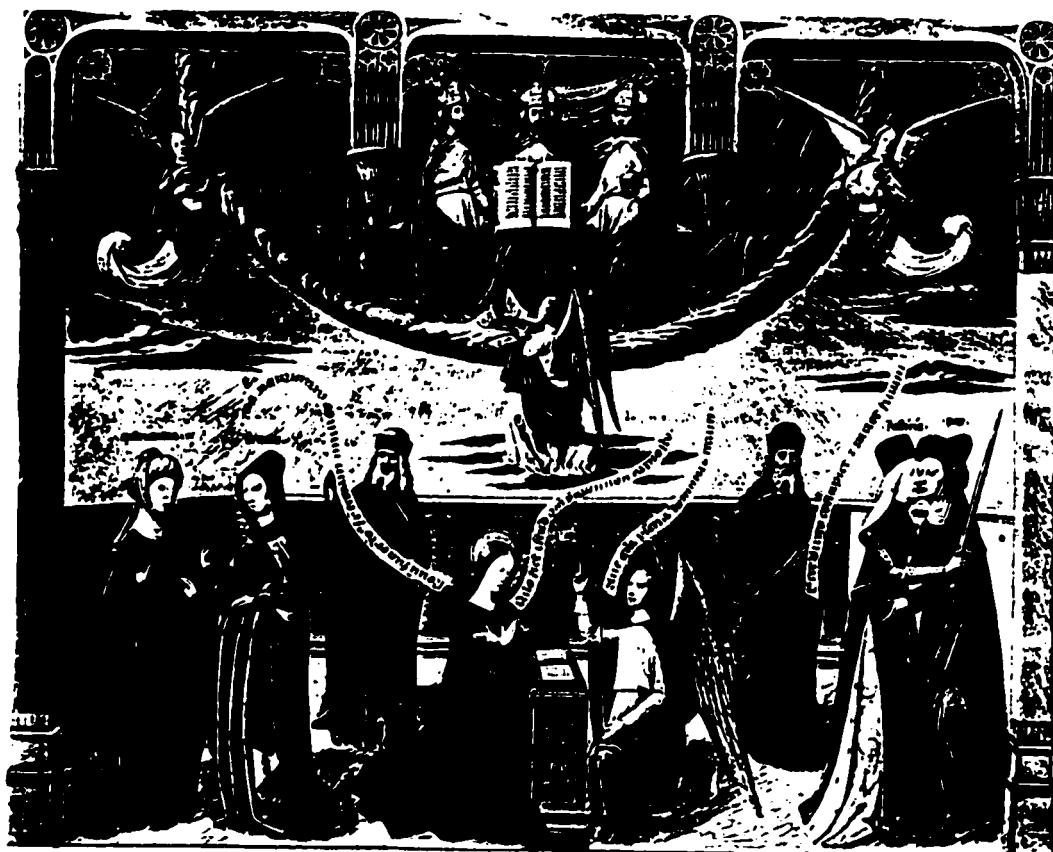


Figure 41, "Justice and Mercy, Peace and Truth," translation of the Golden Legend by John of Vignay, 15th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 244, fol. 107r, top (Male)



Figure 42, Herrad of Hohenbourg, "The Trinity," Hortus deliciarum, ca. 1160, f. 8r (Photo: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris)



Figure 43, "Drama of the Virtues and the Trinity sending out Gabriel," Homilies of the Monk Jacobus, 12th century, Greek (Schiller)



Figure 44, "Gabriel Returns," Homilies of the Monk Jacobus, 12th century, Greek (Schiller)



Figure 45, "The Four Virtues with Gabriel and the Trinity," Book of Hours, 15th century, Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (MS 179) (Chew)



Figure 46, "The Four Virtues with Gabriel and the Trinity," Heures à l'usage de Rome, Hardouyn, Paris, 1514 (Chew)



Figure 47, "Animation of Adam by the Trinity," Bible Historiale, 15th century, Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms.fr.3 (Heimann)



Figure 48, "Trinity in an Apse," Sunday Hours of the Trinity, The Hours of Catherine of Cleves, ca. 1440



Figure 49, "The Creation and the Fall of Man," from The Redemption of Man series, panel 1, Flemish tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1510-15, 13' 8"x26' 8", wool and silk, woven for the Cathedral of Toledo, Spain, now in the M.H. DeYoung Museum, Gift of William Randolph Hearst Foundation, San Francisco, CA.



Figure 50, "The Vices Attack Man," from The Redemption of Man series, panel 2, Flemish tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1510-15, 13' 8"x26' 8", wool and silk, M.H. DeYoung Museum, Gift of William Randolph Hearst Foundation, San Francisco, CA.



Figure 51, "The Virtues Intercede for Man," from The Redemption of Man series, panel 3, Flemish tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1510-15, wool and silk, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (38.29)



Figure 52, "The Nativity and Other New Testament Scenes," from The Redemption of Man series, panel 4, Flemish tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1510-15, wool and silk, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cloisters Collection (38.28)



Figure 53, "The Resurrection," detail, from The Redemption of Man series, panel 8, Flemish tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1510-15, 14' 2"x25' 10", M.H. DeYoung Museum, Gift of William Randolph Hearst Foundation, San Francisco, CA.



Figure 54, "The Ascension," from The Redemption of Man series, panel 9, Flemish tapestry woven in Brussels, ca. 1510-15, wool and silk, Kasteel de Haar, Haarzuylens, Netherlands

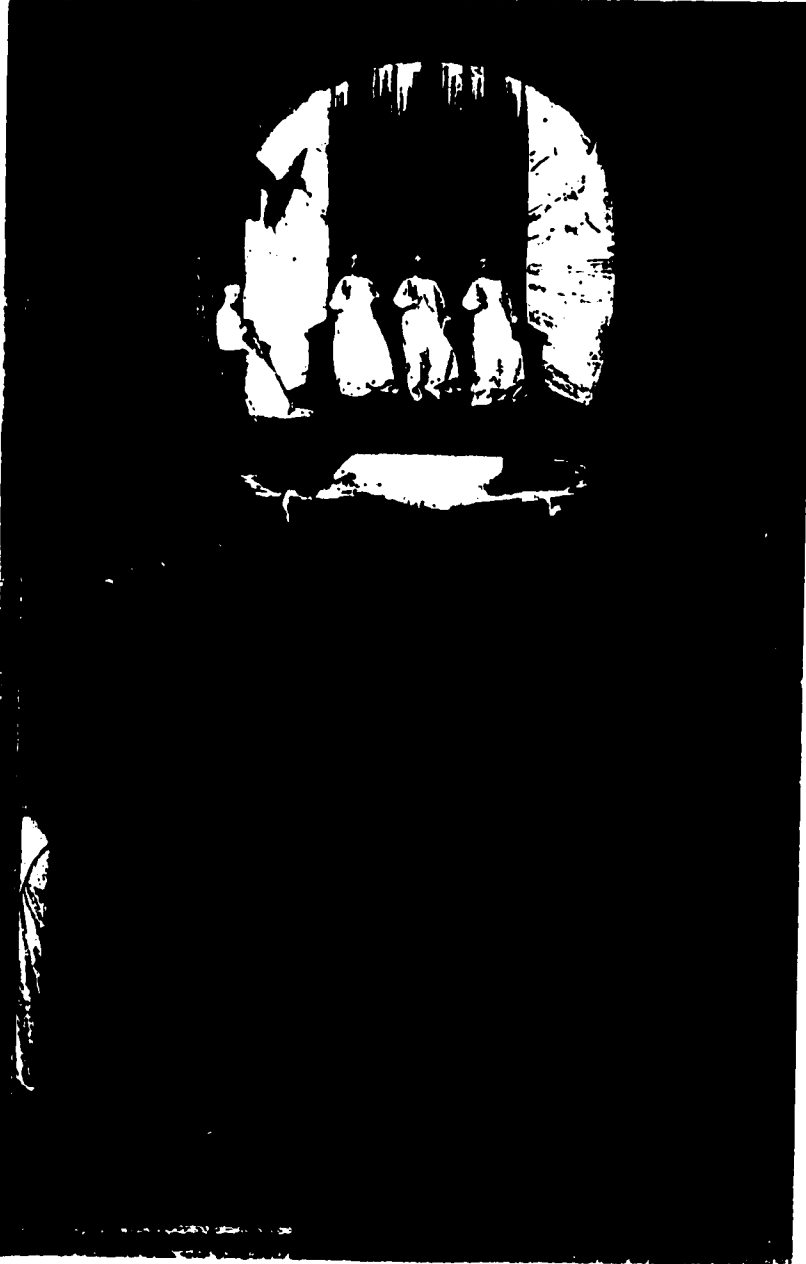


Figure 55, Jean Fouquet, "The Trinity in Glory," Book of Hours of Etienne Chevalier, ca. 1453



Figure 56, Jean Fouquet, "The Coronation of the Virgin,"
Book of Hours of Etienne Chevalier, ca. 1453



Figure 57, Sunday morning procession to the parish church of Santo Tomás, Chichicastenango, Guatemala. Sculptures of the synthronos Trinity are featured. (Atlas of the Christian Church)

DNE EX URGENTISSIMO
 PELLASINFINIM;
 NISNOSIKAI;
 CMMHUMILIATAISTINUI
 UIRIANIMANOSIRA
 EINDIMINOSTROPTER
 NOMINIUM;
 (D)



Figure 58, Psalm 45, Utrecht Psalter, ca. 820, Reims, folio 26 r., (Dewald)

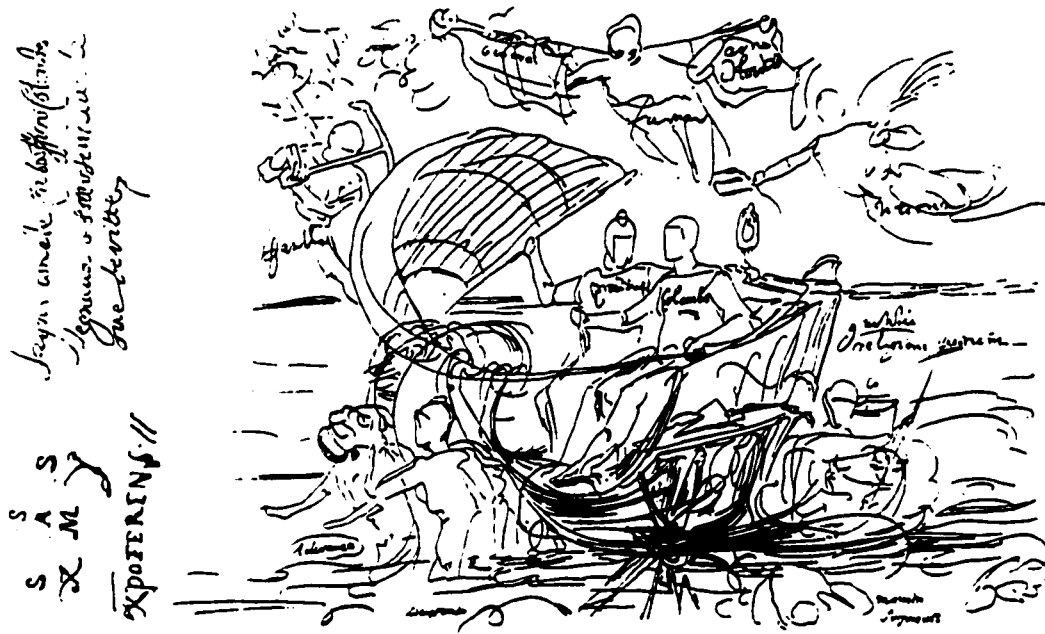


Figure 59, Lazzaro Tavarone, sketch for a proposed fresco, Genoa, ca. 1600 (Columbus, Book of Prophecies)

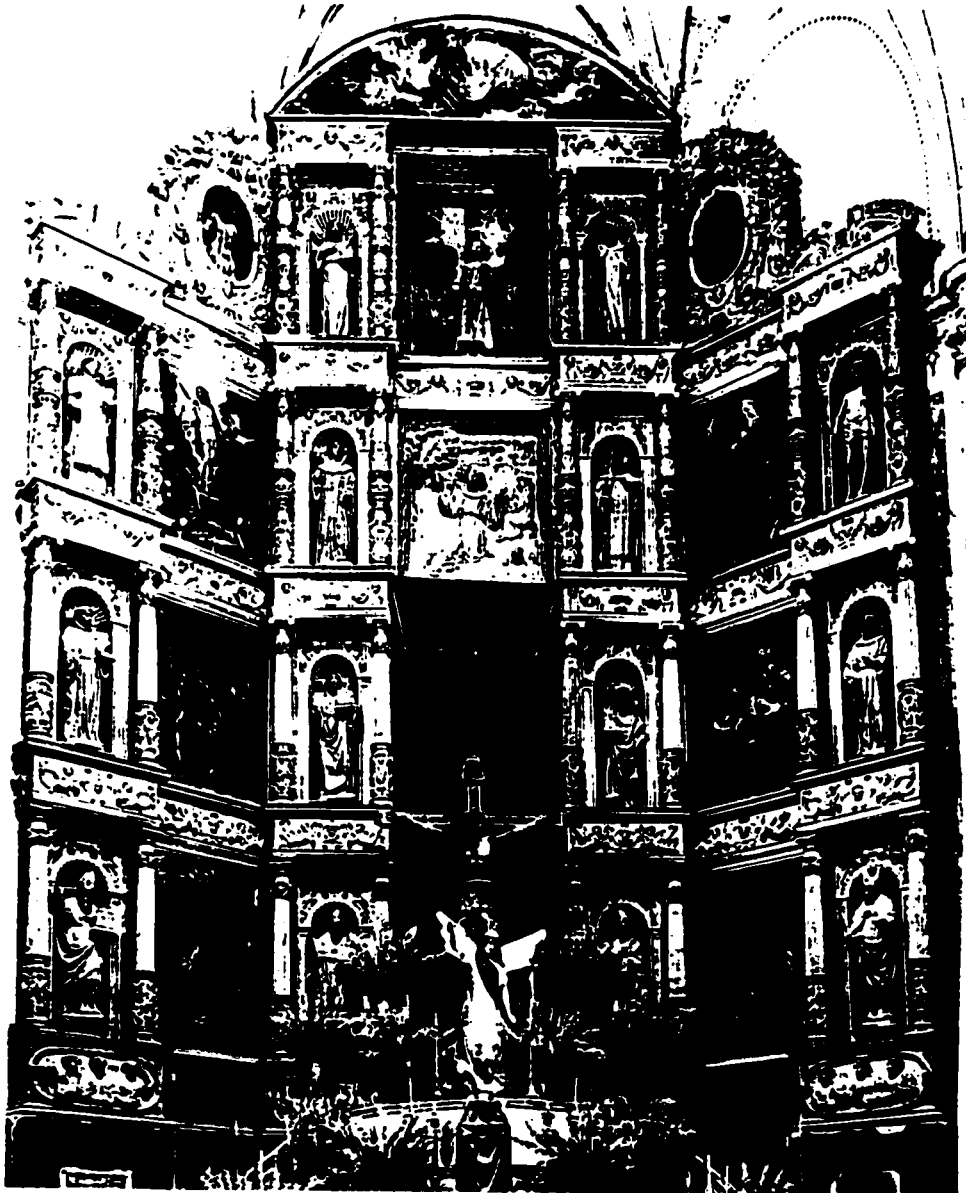


Figure 60, Simón Pereyys, Pedro de Requena and assistants, Retablo mayor of the Church of the Franciscan monastery of Huejotzingo, ca. 1586, Puebla, Mexico (Weismann)

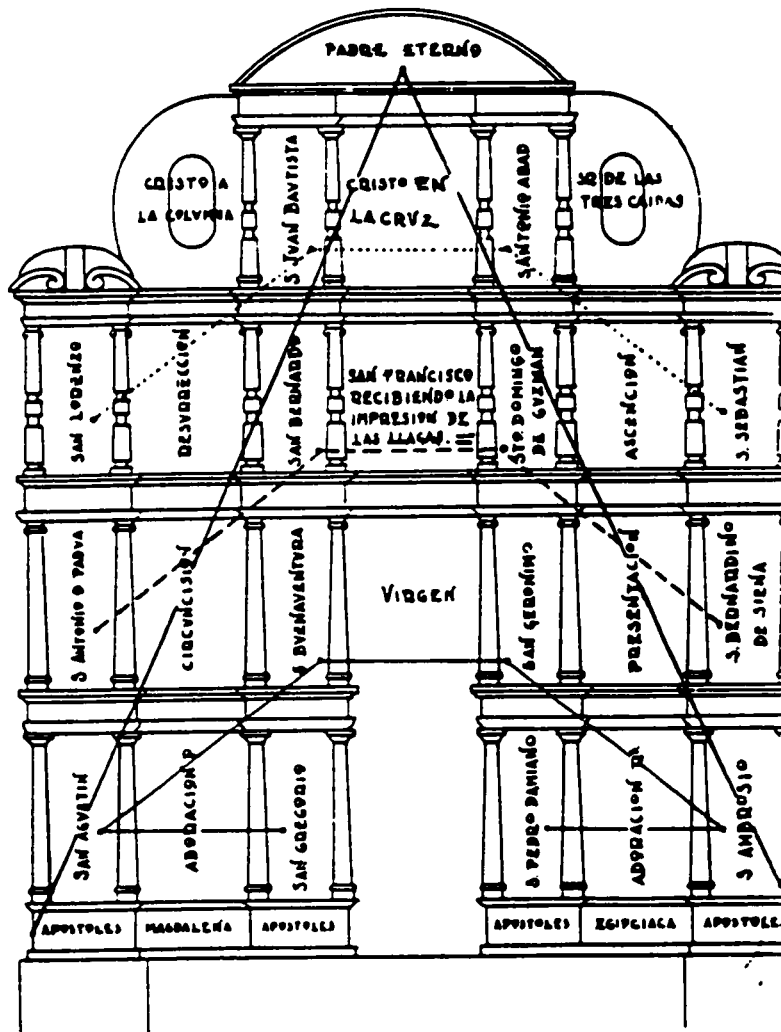


Figure 61, Diagram of the Retablo of the Church of Huejotzingo, ca. 1586, Mexico (Artes de Mexico)



Figure 62, Attributed to Juan Correa, "The Encounter of Cortés and Moctezuma (obverse), right side, oil on canvas, c. 1683, Mexico, 8'2"x19'8" Collection Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City, (MET)



Figure 63, Attributed to Juan Correa, "The Encounter of Cortés and Moctezuma (obverse), left side, oil on canvas, c. 1683, Mexico, 8'2"x19'8" Collection Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City, (MET)



Figure 64, Attributed to Juan Correa, "The Four Continents" (reverse), left side of blombo, oil on canvas, c. 1683, Mexico, 8'2"x19'8" Collection Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City, (MET)



Figure 65, Attributed to Juan Correa, "The Four Continents" (reverse), right side of blombo, oil on canvas, c. 1683, Mexico, 8'2"x19'8" Collection Banco Nacional de México, Mexico City, (MET)



Figure 66, Cuzco School, "Triumph of Christ the King with the Four Continents," Peru, 18th century, oil on canvas, 38x46 3/4 (fragment), Brooklyn Museum collection (Converging Cultures)

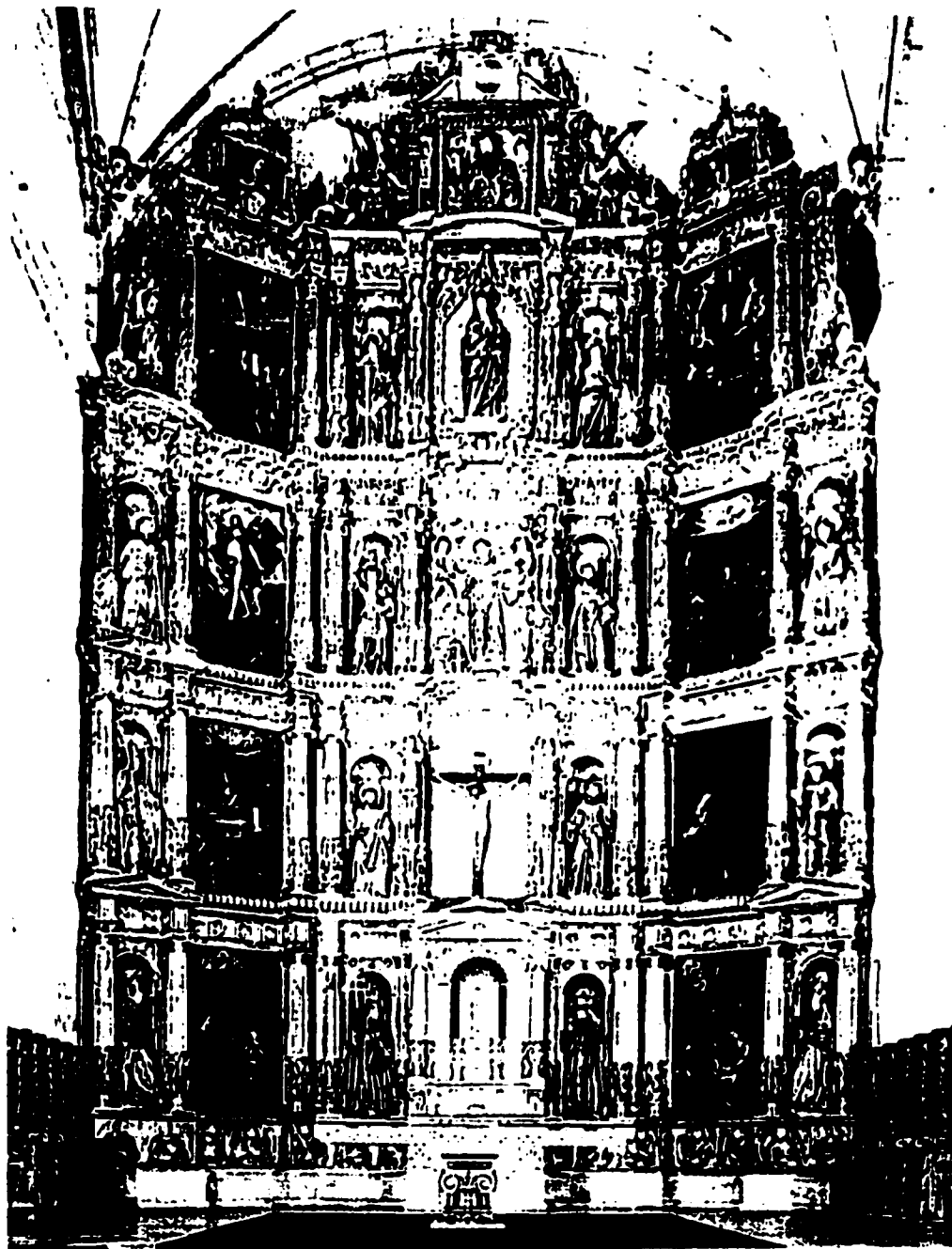


Figure 67, God the Father and the virtues, retablo,
Franciscan convent, Xochimilco, Mexico City, 1605



Figure 68, "Trinity," stone sculpture on remate, portal of the Church of La Trinidad de Conca, in the Huasteca Queretana, 18th century, Sierra Gorda, Mexico (Maquivar)



Figure 69, The Trinity, Church of San Miguel Conca, Querétaro, Sierra Gorda, Relief on remate of facade above portal, Mexico, 18th century, (Richard Perry photograph)

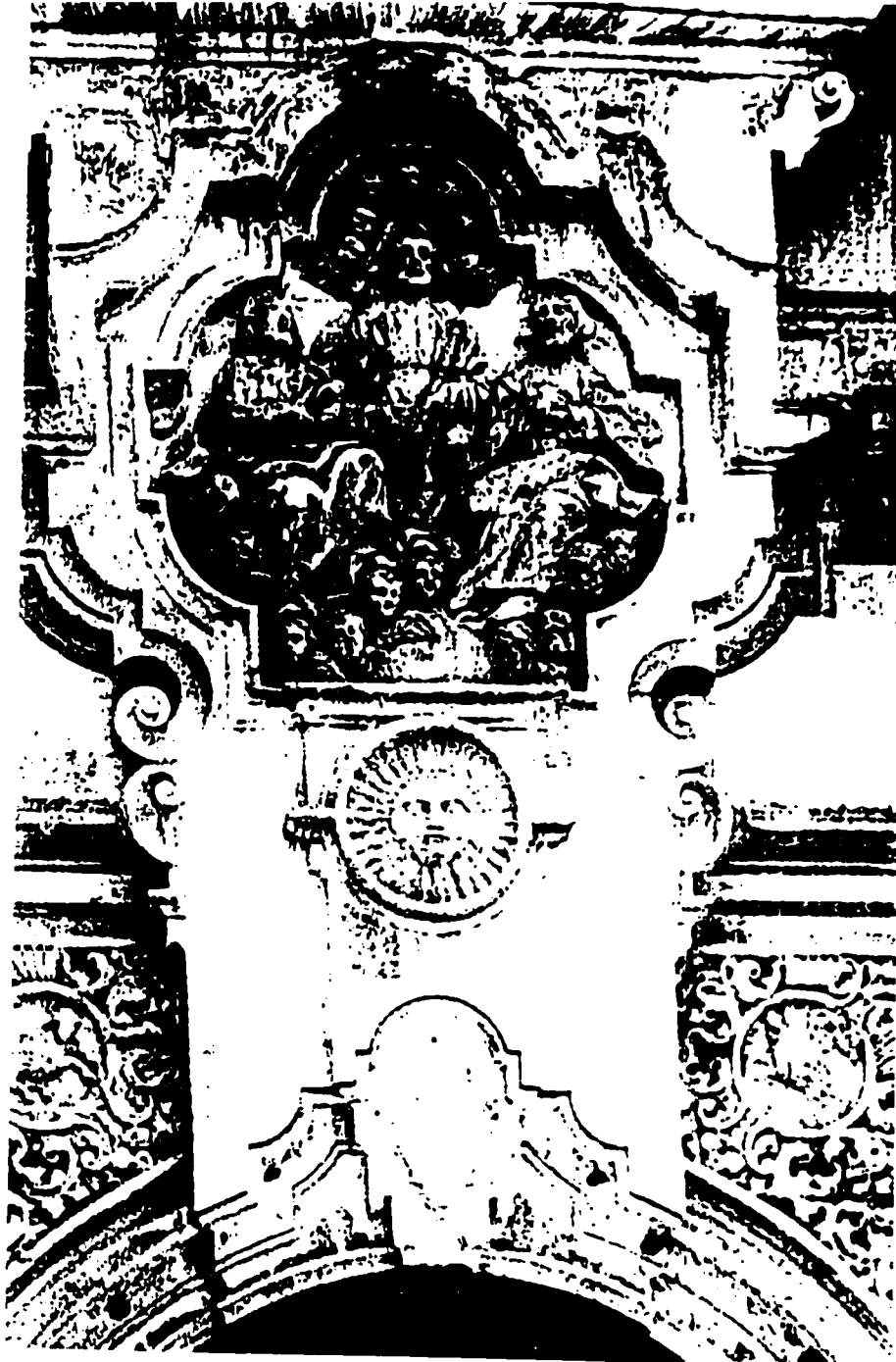


Figure 70, The Trinity, La Compañía, Jesuit Church
(originally Church of the Holy Trinity, Relief on facade
above portal, Guanajuato, Mexico, 18th century, (Richard
Perry photograph)

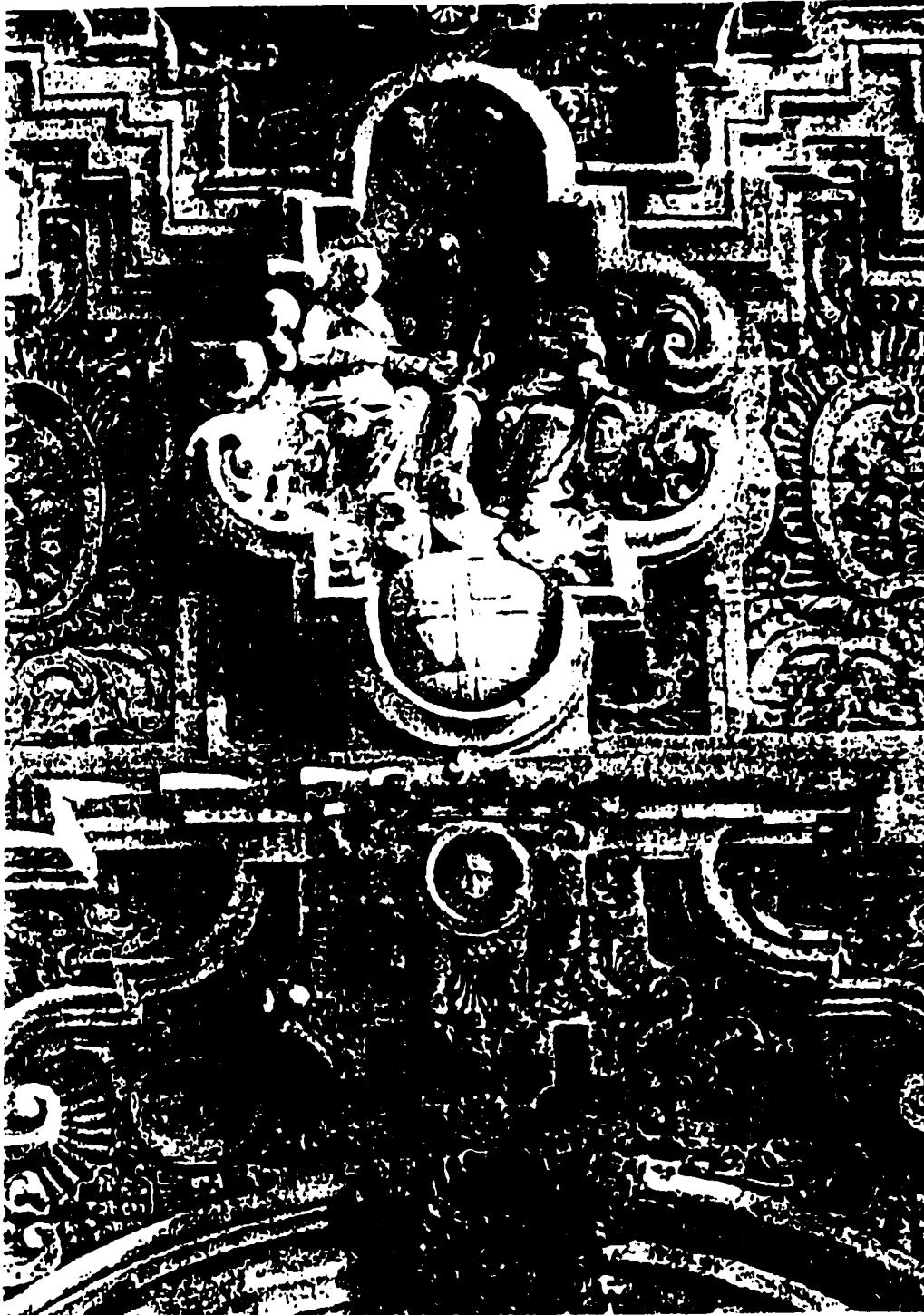


Figure 71, The Trinity, Church of La Valenciana, Relief on facade above portal, Guanajuato, Mexico, 18th century, (Richard Perry photograph)

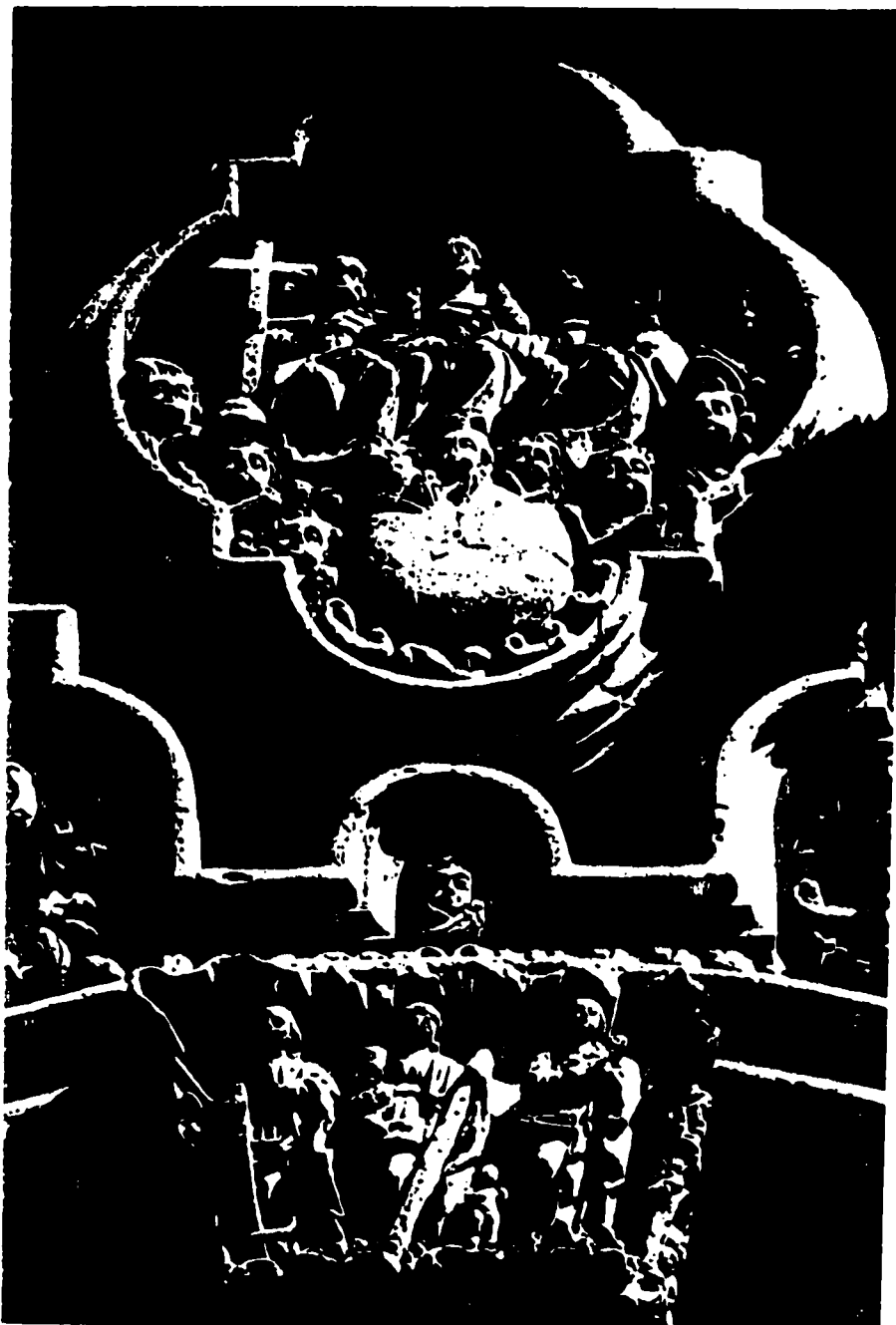


Figure 72, The Trinity (above) and Three Virtues (below), La Cata Chapel, Relief on facade above portal, Guanajuato, Mexico, 18th century, (Richard Perry photograph)



Figure 73, "Trinity," sculpture, polychromed wood with estofado, originally part of a Baroque altarpiece, Mexico, 17th or 18th century, Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Mexico, D.F. (Maquivar)

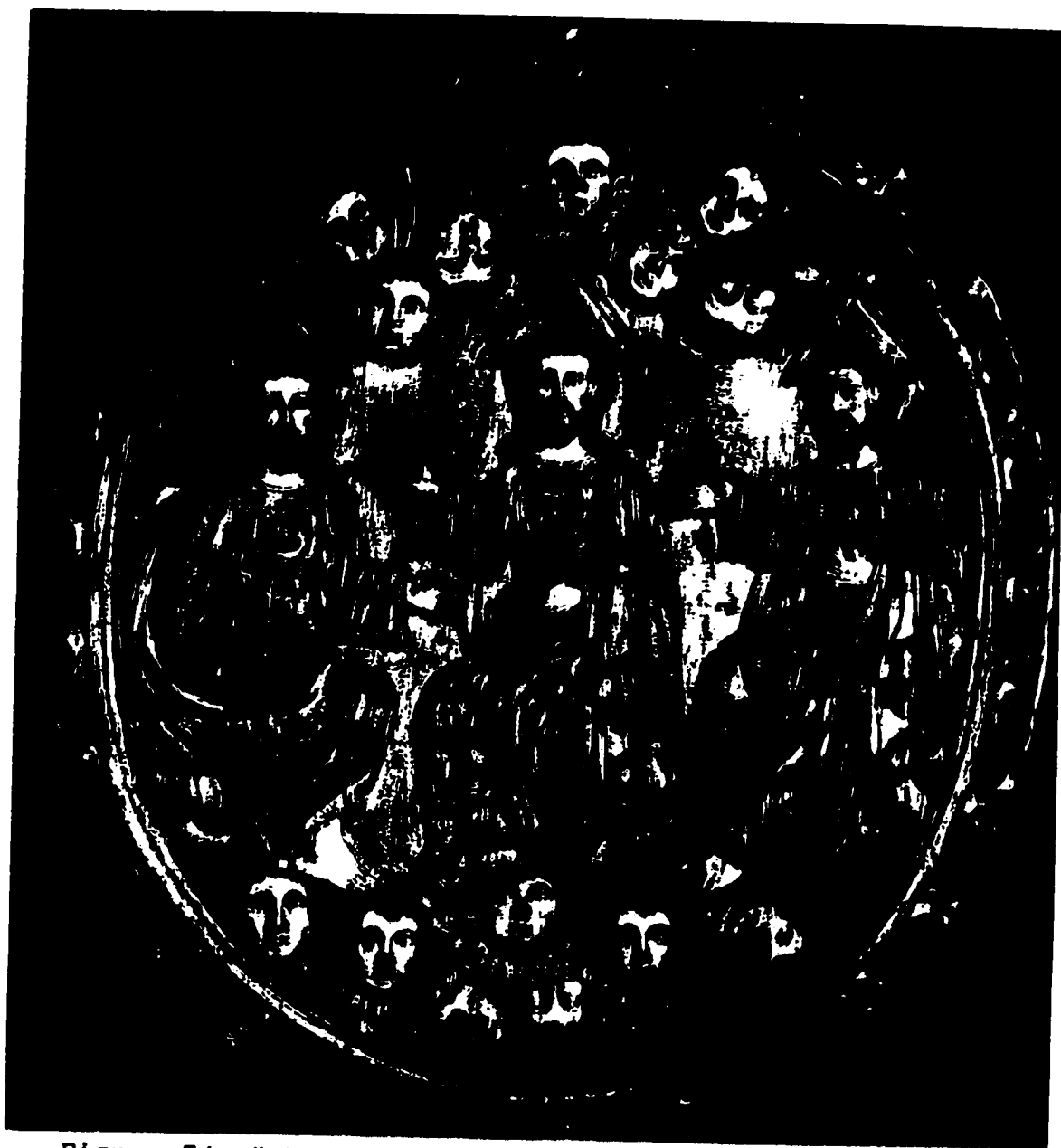


Figure 74, "The Holy Trinity," polychromed and estofado wood relief, ca. 17th century, Mexico, 101 cm. diameter, Collection of Franz Mayer Museum, Mexico City



Figure 75, "The Trinity," oil painting on tin, 4 1/2"x 6 1/2", ca. 1820-80, Mexico (Giffords)



Figure 76, "The Trinity," oil painting on tin, 9 1/2"x
13 3/4", ca. 1820-80, Mexico (Giffords)



Figure 77, José Guadalupe Posada, "The Soul Alone," zinc etching and letterpress print, Mexico, ca. 1900



Figure 78, The Trinity with Joseph and Ignatius of Loyola, 17th century, Cuzco School, Viceroyalty of Peru, Museo Histórico Regional, Cuzco (Temples of Gold, Crowns of Silver)



Figure 79, Laguna Santero, Retablo of church of San José de Laguna, New Mexico, 1808, photograph by Laura Gilpin (The Arts in America: The Colonial Period)



Figure 80, José de Alcibar, the Trinity with the Virgin of Guadalupe, Retablo of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1795 (Gittings)

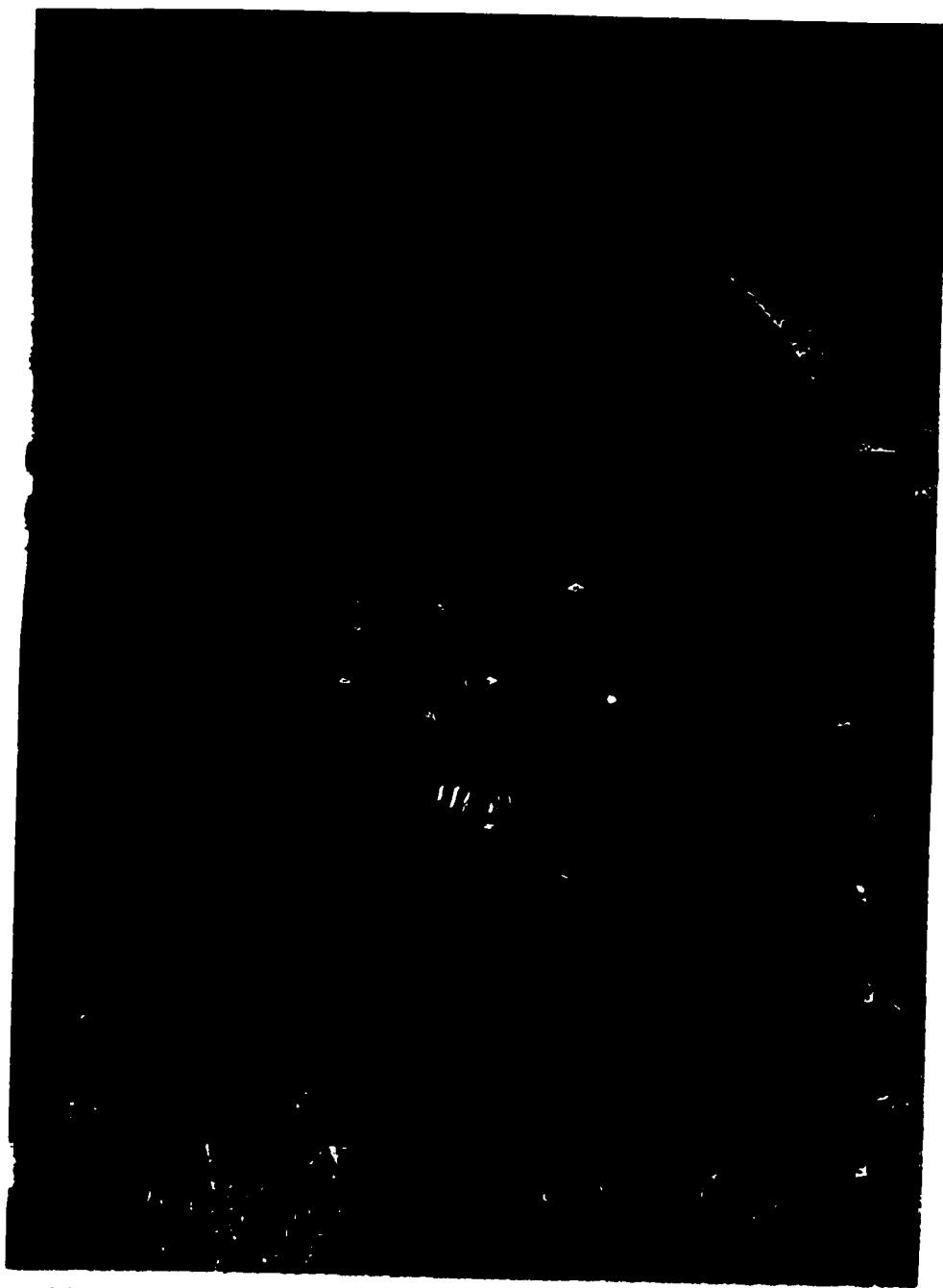


Figure 81, San José de Gracia, Trinity, Retablo, Las Trampas, New Mexico, ca. 1800, (photograph by Ann Storey)

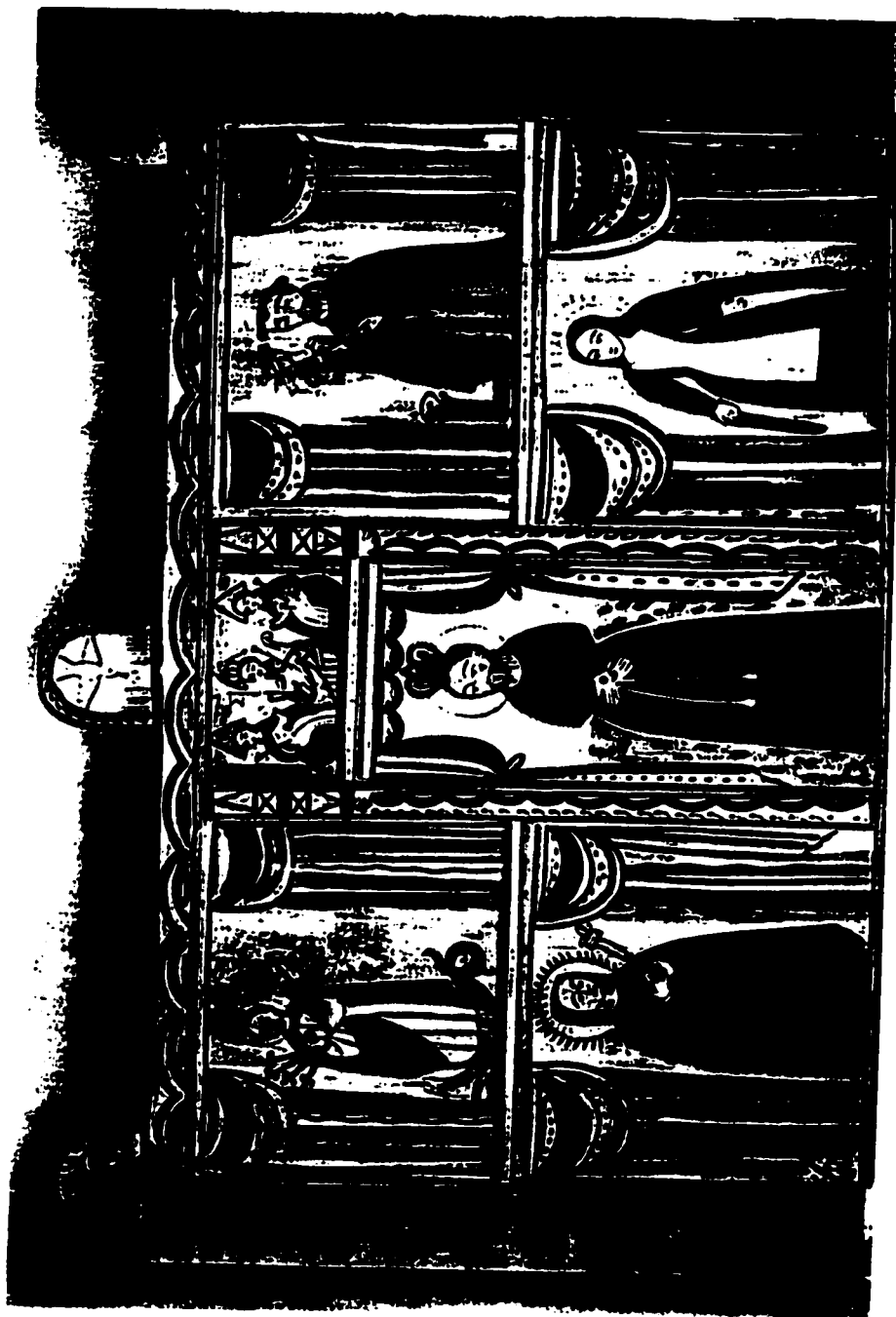


Figure 82, José Rafael Aragón, Retablo from the Chapel of Our Lady of Talpa, tempera on gessoed wood, The Holy Trinity in the upper center, 83x115", ca. 1840, New Mexico (T.M.#3906)

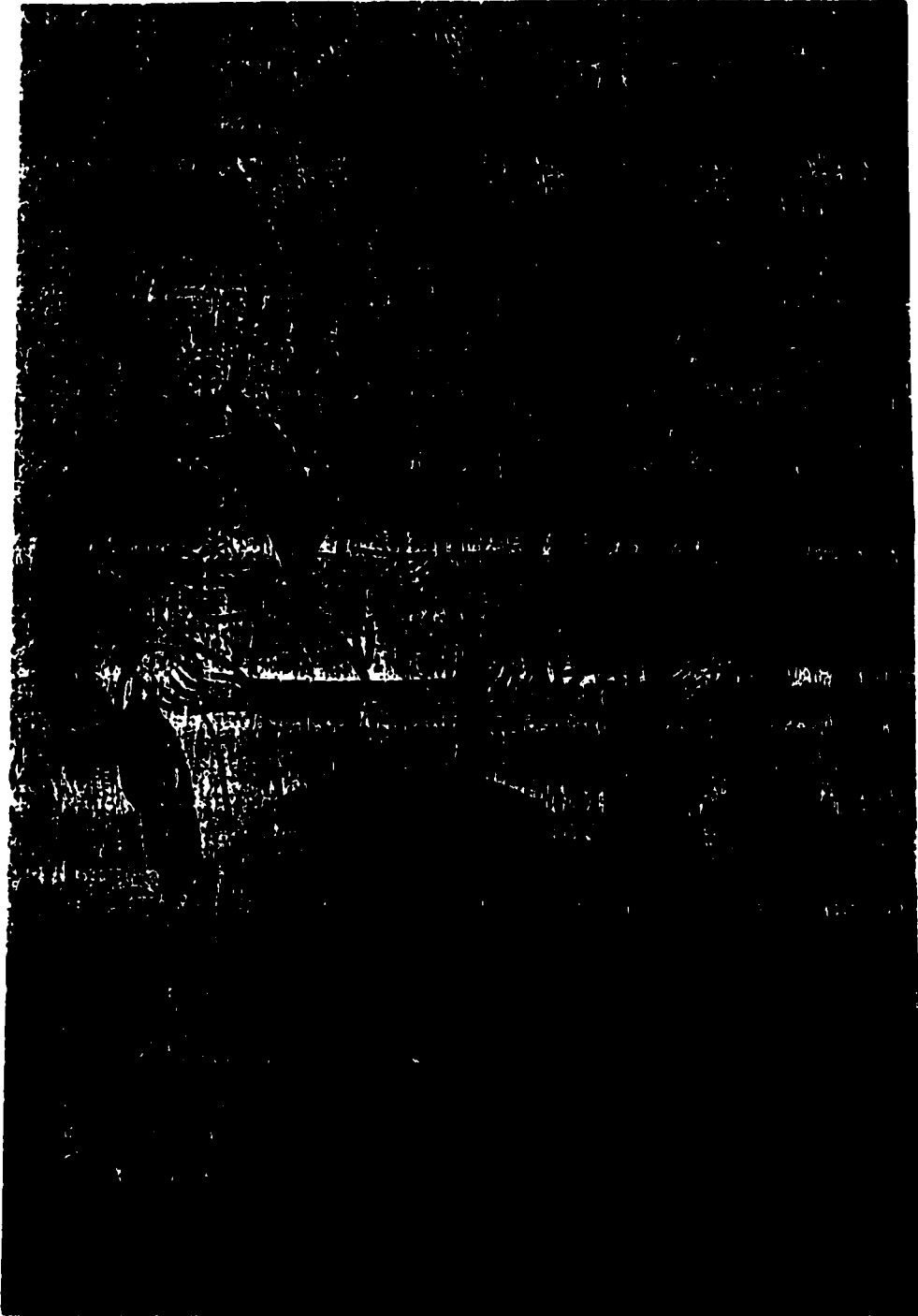


Figure 83, José Aragón, "The Holy Trinity," retablo,
tempera on gessoed pine, 52.7 x32.4 cm, private
collection, New Mexico, ca. 1830 (Frank)



Figure 84, José Aragón, "The Trinity," ca. 1825-30, tempera on gessoed pine, 18 x 13 1/2", Taylor Museum

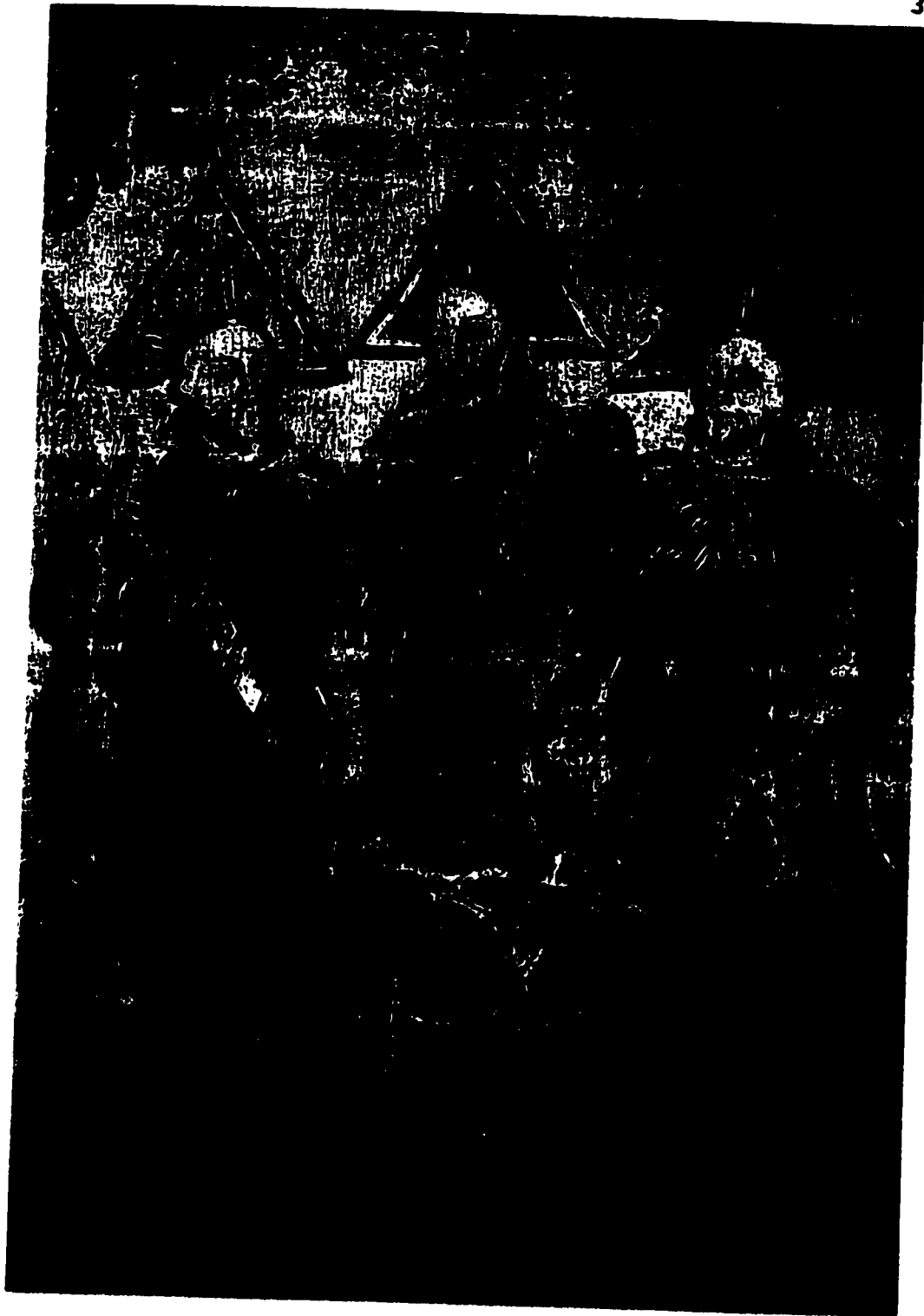


Figure 85, Antonio Molleno, "The Holy Trinity,"
retablo, tempera on gessoed pine, 77.5x47 cm., private
collection, New Mexico, ca. 1830 (Frank, plate 47)



Figure 86, Antonio Molleno, "The Throne of Grace," retablo on gessoed pine, ca. 1830, 45.5x32 cm., Collection of MIFA, Santa Fe (Frank, plate 94)



Figure 87, Quill Pen Santero, "The Holy Trinity," retablo,
tempera on gessoed pine, ca. 1830-50, New Mexico, Spanish
Colonial Arts Society, Inc. Collection on loan to the
Museum of New Mexico, MIFA, #I.5.75-50



Figure 88, Pedro Antonio Frésquis/Truchas Master, "The Holy Trinity," ca. 1800, New Mexico, retablo, pine, gesso, water-based paints, 23 3/8x14 1/8, Brooklyn Museum (Converging Cultures)

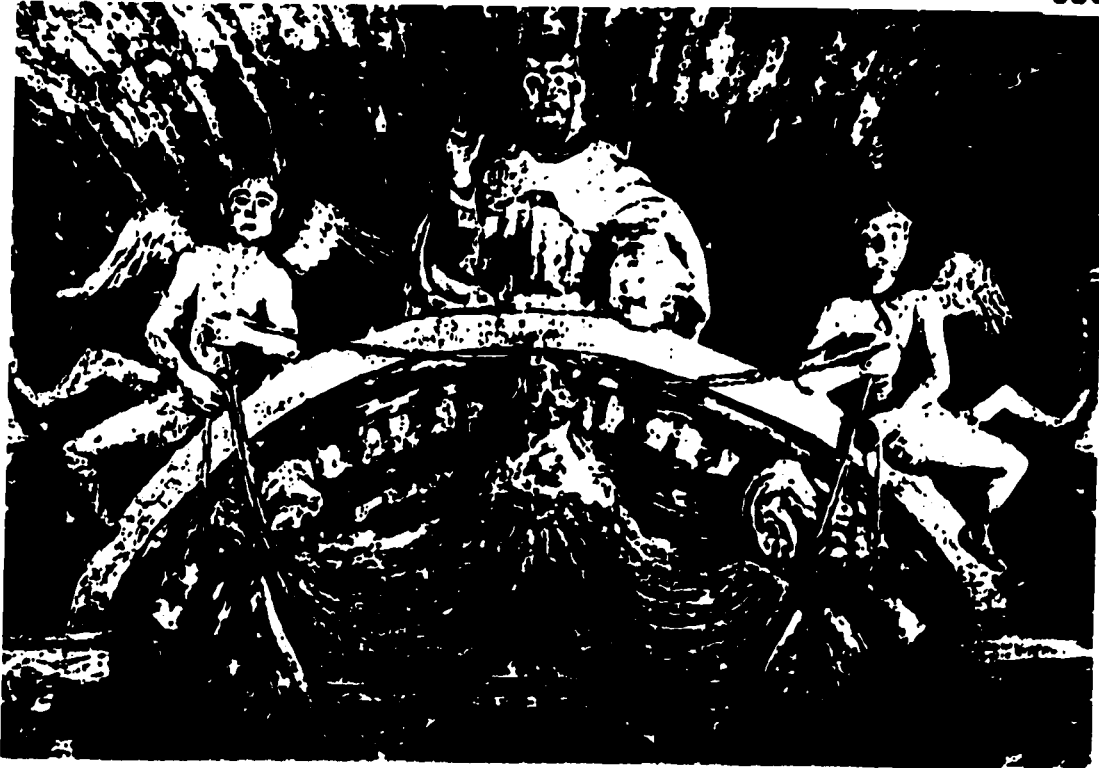


Figure 89, God the Father, retablo mayor, San Xavier del Bac, 1797; Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit in medallions



Figure 90, "The Holy Trinity," 23 cm., bulto, cottonwood root, ca. 1800 or before, New Mexico, Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Inc. Collection on loan to the Museum of New Mexico, MIFA, Santa Fe (Frank)



Figure 91, "The Holy Trinity," 35 cm., bulto, cottonwood root, ca. 1780, New Mexico, Cady Wells Bequest to the Museum of New Mexico, MIFA, Santa Fe (Frank)



Figure 92, "The Holy Trinity," 45 x 31.1 cm., bulto, cottonwood root, ca. 19th century, New Mexico, (Frank)



Figure 93, Ivory diptych of the consul Anastasius, right wing, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Grabar)



Figure 94, detail of figure 70. Consular scepter of the consul Anastasius with the heads of three coregnant emperors. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



Figure 95, José de Paez, "Crowning of the Virgin by the Trinity," escudo de monja, oil on copper, 18th century, Mexico, 8 1/4" diameter, Mayer Collection, Denver Art Museum, Denver (Egan)



Figure 96, Constantine, standing between his two sons and being crowned by the hand of God. Gold multiple, minted in Constantinople, Reverse, "Gaudium R-omanorum Mcons," (MacCormack)

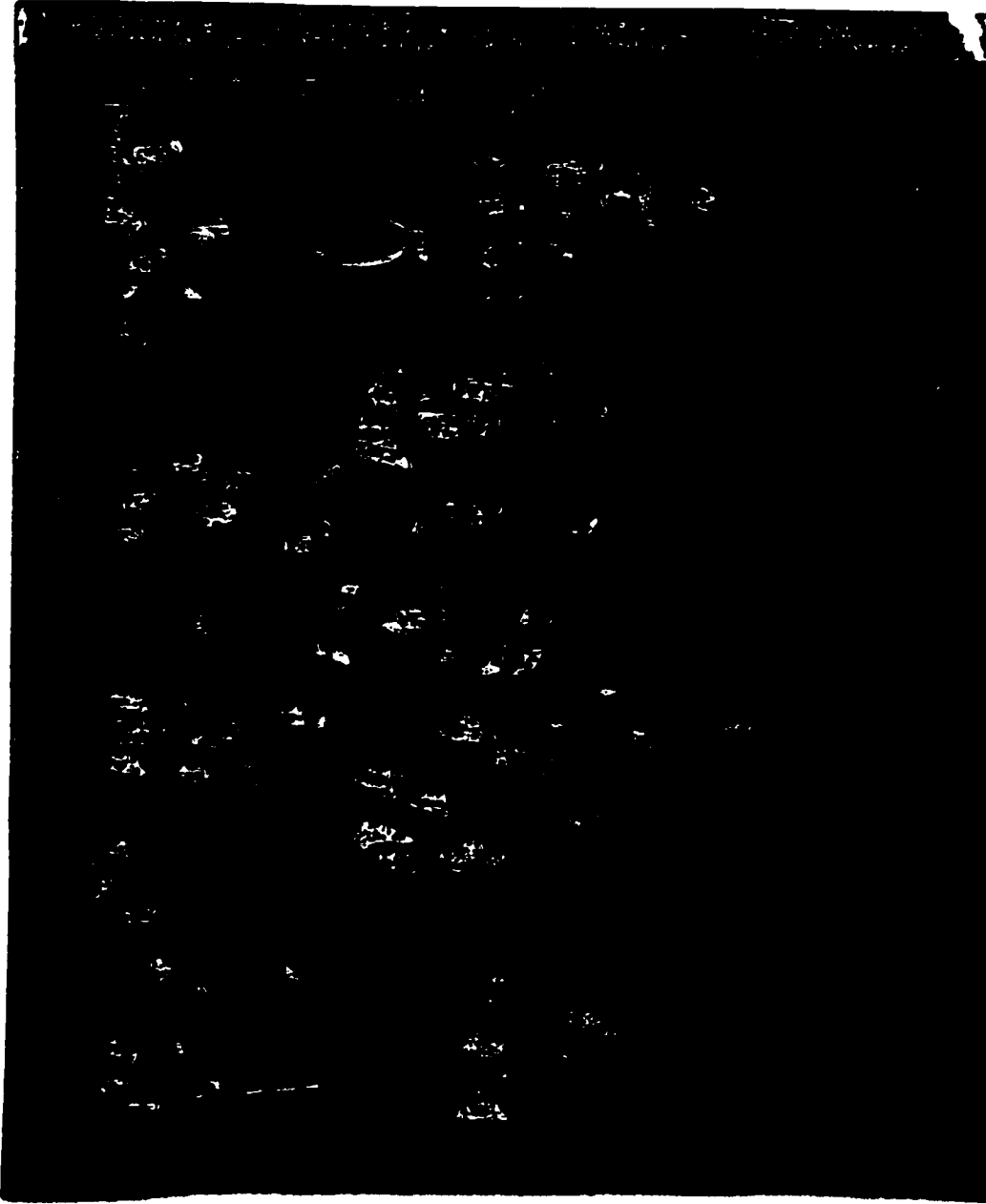


Figure 97, "Coronation of the Virgin," from the series The Triumph of the Mother of God, Brussels, ca. 1490, workshop of Pieter van Aelst, purchased by Juana la loca (Joanna the Mad), (1492)



Figure 98, "Coronation of the Virgin," Spain or Mexico, oil on copper, collection of the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, (Gowen)

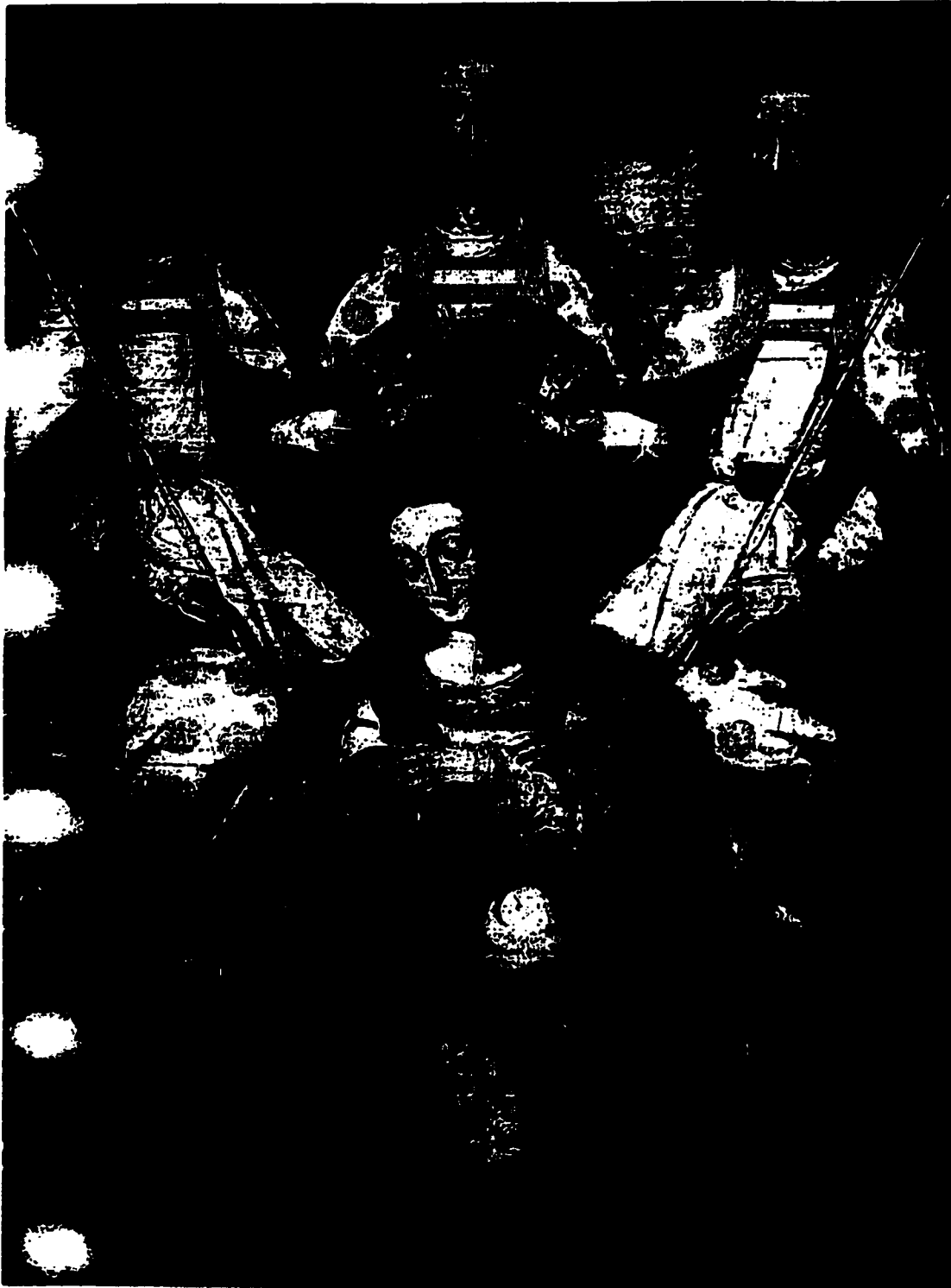


Figure 99, "The Coronation of the Virgin," Lima(?), Peru, 18th century, oil on canvas, 58x38 3/4", Holler and Saunders, Ltd. (Cambios)

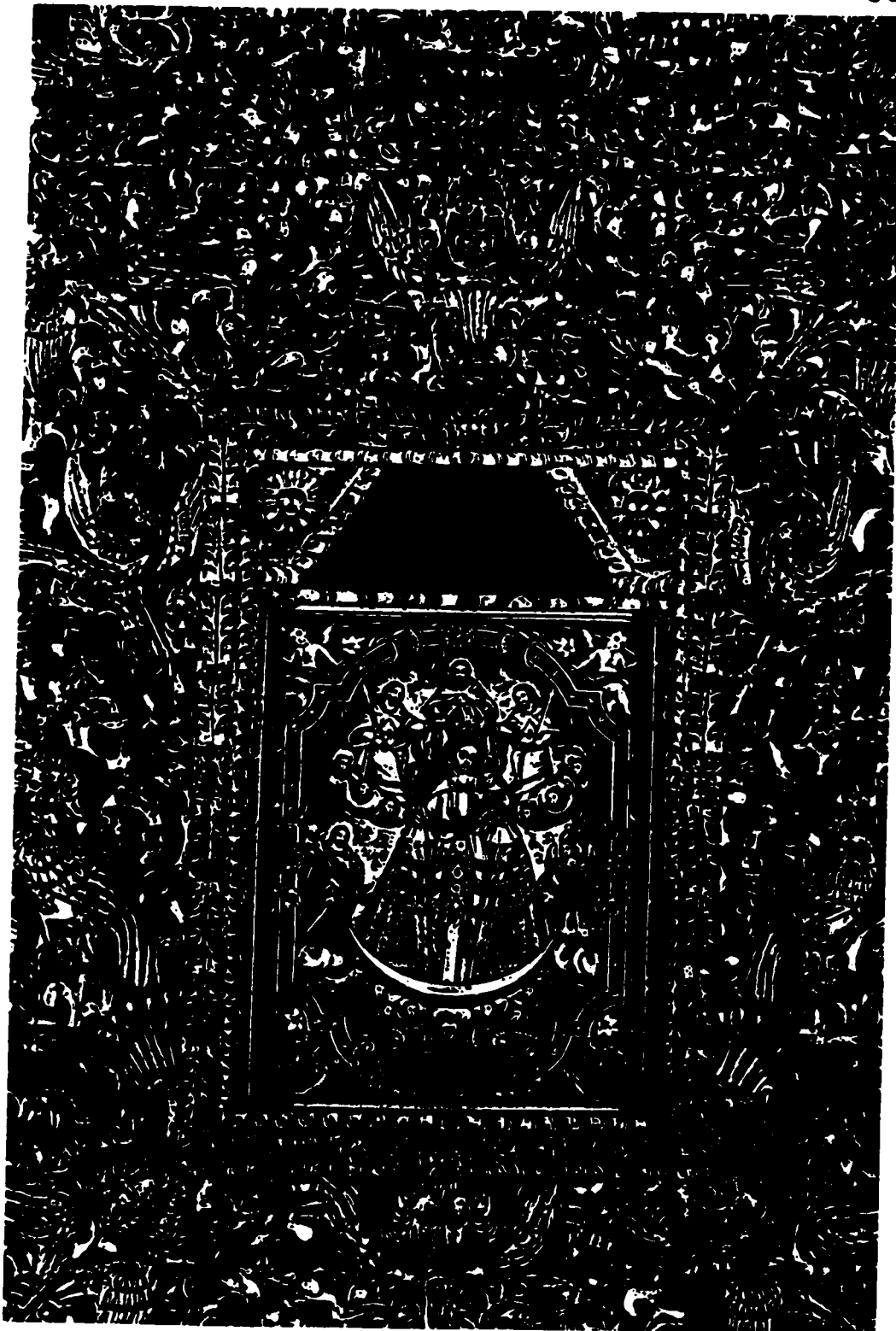


Figure 100, Our Lady of the Rosary crowned by the Trinity, oil on canvas with gilded and polychromed frame, Cuzco, Peru, 18th century



Figure 101, "Crowning of the Virgin by the Trinity," painted medallion in locket frame, Peru, 19th century, paint, metal leaf and toned paper using a reverse-painting technique, 3 3/4x2 5/8x3/16, Brooklyn Museum Collection (Converging Cultures)



Figure 102, Gaspar Miguel de Berrío, *The Trinity Crowning the Virgin*, Potosí School, ca. 1760, Museo Nacional de Arte, La Paz (Temples of Gold, Crowns of Silver)



Figure 103, Crowning of the Virgin by the Trinity, escudo de monja, silk embroidery with faces painted in oil, gold leaf wood frame, 17th century, Mexico, 9x11", Museo Franz Mayer Collection, Mexico City (Egan)

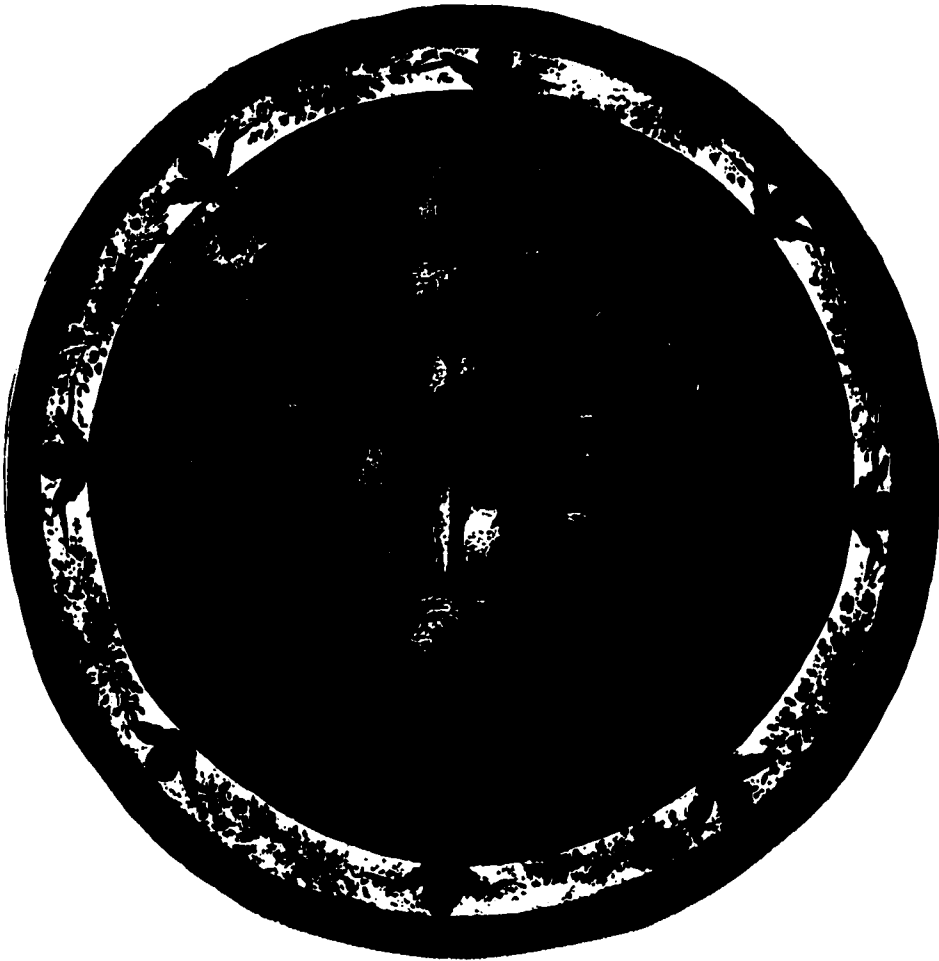


Figure 104, Manuel Serna, *Crowning of the Virgin by the Trinity*, unsigned escudo de monja, oil on copper with gilded border and tortoise-shell frame, late 17th century, Mexico, 7 1/4" diameter, Hispanic Society Collection, New York (Egan)



Figure 105, *Crowning of the Virgin by the Trinity*, unsigned escudo de monja, oil on copper, 18th century, Mexico, 8 1/4" diameter, Mayer Collection, Denver Art Museum (Egan)



Figure 106, Crowned Nun Portrait, sitter unknown, 18th century, Mexico, oil on canvas and board, 30"x25", Arbor Fund Collection, Bloedel Reserve, Bainbridge Island, Washington, (photograph by Larry Long)



Figure 107, "Sor Ana Josefa Maria de Jesús, from the Santa Clara convent of the city of Puebla, oil on canvas, 18th century, Mexico, private collection (Artes de Mexico)

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APPENDIX A: "Credo"

I believe in God the Father Almighty
maker of Heaven and Earth
And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord
Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost
born of the Virgin Mary suffered under Pontius Pilate
was crucified, died and was buried: He descended
into Hell, the third day he rose again from the dead:
He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand
of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall
come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe
in the Holy Ghost: The Holy Catholic Church: The
Communion of Saints: The Forgiveness of Sins: The
Resurrection of the Body and the Life Everlasting.

(my emphasis)

APPENDIX B: "Gloria in Excelsius Deo"

Glory to God in the highest.
And peace on earth to men of good will.
We praise you,
we bless you,
we worship you,
we glorify you,
We give you thanks.
For your great glory.
Lord God, heavenly King,
almighty God and Father.
Lord Jesus Christ, only begotten Son.
Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father,
you take away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.
You take away the sins of the world, receive our prayer.
You are seated at the right hand of the Father,
have mercy on us.
For you alone are Holy, you alone are Lord,
you alone are the Most High,
Jesus Christ.
With the Holy Spirit, in the glory of God the Father.
Amen.

(my emphasis)

Source: National Library of Turin,
Giordano MS 32, ff.90-120.

APPENDIX C: Psalm 109

Dixit Dominus

1 A Psalm for David

The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand:
Until I make thy enemies thy footstool.

2 The Lord will send forth the scepter of thy power out of
Sion:
rule thou in the midst of thy enemies.

3 With thee is the principality in the day of thy
strength:
in the brightness of the saints: from the womb before the
day star I begot thee.

4 The Lord hath sworn, and he will not repent: "Thou art a
priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech.

5 The Lord at thy right hand hath broken kings in the day
of his wrath.

6 He shall judge among nations, he shall fill ruins: he
shall crush the heads in the land of many.

7 He shall drink of the torrent in the way: therefore
shall he lift up the head.

(my emphasis)

source: Douay Bible, Confraternity version

APPENDIX D: Psalm 23

Domini est terra

1. On the first day of the week, a Psalm for David.

The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof: the world, and all they that dwell therein.

2. For he hath founded it upon the seas; and hath prepared it upon the rivers.

3. Who shall ascend into the mountain of the Lord: or who shall stand in his holy place?

4. The innocent in hands, and clean of heart, who hath not taken his soul in vain, nor sworn deceitfully to his neighbor.

5. He shall receive a blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour.

6. This is the generation of them that seek him, of them that seek the face of the God of Jacob.

7. Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in.

8. Who is this King of Glory? the Lord who is strong and mighty: the Lord mighty in battle.

9. Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in.

10. Who is this King of Glory? the Lord of hosts, he is the King of Glory.

Vita

Education:

Ph.D., the University of Washington, Art History Division, (G.P.A 3.88), 1997. Specializing in the confluence of the Italian Renaissance and the Americas (southwest and Mexico) at the time of conquest.

M.A., The University of Washington, Art History Department. 1993. Title of master's thesis, "The Eloquence of Tradition: An Examination of the Spanish Colonial Tradition of the American Southwest as Exemplified by San José de Laguna and San Xavier del Bac," (G.P.A. 3.86).

Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Art History coursework, 1973.

B.A., The Pennsylvania State University, Art History major, Philosophy minor, Honors Program, Magna Cum Laude, selected for Phi Beta Kappa, 1972.

Publications:

"The Contested Past: The Crowned Nun Portrait Tradition of Colonial Mexico," Artifact, January/February, 1996, p. 23-4.

"Dalí, Míro, Picasso: Modernismo in Spanish Art," Artifact, January/February, 1997, cover and p. 8-11. By invitation.

Book Review, Weavers of Tradition and Beauty: Basketmakers of the Great Basin, by Mary Lee Fulkersons, for the American Indian Culture and Research Journal, published by UCLA. Vol. 21, no. 2, Spring, 1997. By invitation.

Forthcoming, "A Theophany of the Feminine: Hildegard of Bingen, Elisabeth of Schönau and Herrad of Hohenbourg," Woman's Art Journal, accepted for publication in Vol. 19, no. 1, May, 1998.

Forthcoming, Native North American Artists, four critical essays and bibliographic information about: Edna Davis Jackson, John Hoover, Neil Parsons, Larry Ahvakana, scheduled for publication in 1997 by St. James Press. By invitation.

"Arts Olympia Exhibition Bridges Two Art Worlds," exhibition review, The Olympian, May 30, 1993. By invitation.

Papers Presented (or Accepted) at Academic Conferences:

February, 1998, **College Art Association 86th Annual Conference**, Toronto, Canada. My paper is entitled, "**The Synthronos Trinity: Visual Culture and Imperial Ritual in Spain and the Americas**," in a panel called "Visual Cultures, Old and New: Iberia and the Americas, 1500-1800."

March, 1997, **Second National Women in Historic Preservation Conference**, Arizona State University and the National Park Service, Mesa, Arizona. Title: "Preserving the Sacred Structure: Pueblo Women and the Ceremonial Universe."

April, 1996, **Association of Art Historians of Britain Annual Conference**, University of Newcastle, England. My paper was "Ugliness, Death, and Laughter."

January, 1995, **College Art Association 83rd Annual Conference**, University of Texas at San Antonio. My paper was, "From Charnel House to Craft Boutique: The Evolution of a Culture Hero."

June, 1994, "Reclaiming Women's History Through Historic Preservation," **First National Women in Historic Preservation Conference**, Bryn Mawr College, sponsored by the **Preservation Coalition of Greater Philadelphia**. My paper was, "The Contribution of Pueblo Women to the Architectural Heritage of the American Southwest," in a session devoted to Vernacular Design.

February, 1994, "Providence and Probability, Chaos and Order," national conference of the **Western Society for 18th-Century Studies** at University of Nevada, Las Vegas. My topic was, "Persuading Destiny: Life and Death Imagery in New Spain."

April, 1993, "The Art of Transition," **Ninth Annual Colloquium of the Graduate Students of Art History**, University of Washington. My topic was "Dancing with Death in Mexico."

Teaching Experience (Instructor level, University of Washington):

Pre-doctoral Teaching Associate II, Fall Quarter, 1996, **Survey of Renaissance to Contemporary Art, 203YA**

Pre-doctoral Teaching Associate II, Summer Quarter, 1996, **Survey of Renaissance to Contemporary Art, 203YA**

Pre-doctoral Teaching Associate II, Spring Quarter, 1996,
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Pre-doctoral Teaching Associate II, Summer Quarter, 1995,
Survey of Medieval and Renaissance Art History, 202YA

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Survey of Medieval and Renaissance Art History, 202YA

Pre-doctoral Teaching Associate II, Autumn Quarter, 1994,
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Teaching Assistantships:

Teaching Associate, Winter Quarter, 1994, Survey of Western
Medieval and Renaissance Art

Teaching Associate, Autumn Quarter, 1993, Survey of Ancient
Art of the West

Teaching Associate, Spring Quarter, 1993, Survey of Western
Renaissance to Contemporary Art

Teaching Assistant, Winter Quarter, 1992, Survey of Western
Medieval and Renaissance Art

Reader: Italian Renaissance Art, Spring, 1992

Scholarships, Fellowships, Honors, and Community Service:

University of Washington Dissertation Fellowship, 1996-97.

School of Art, Isaacs Scholarship, 1996-97.

David C. Fowler Travel Fellowship, University of
Washington, 1996.

David C. Fowler Travel Fellowship, University of
Washington, 1994-95.

School of Art Scholarship, University of Washington, 1994-
95.

David C. Fowler Travel Fellowship, University of
Washington, 1993-94.

School of Art Scholarship, University of Washington, 1993-
94.

School of Art Nordstrom Scholarship, University of
Washington, 1992-93.

"Special Commendation," practicum, Seattle Art Museum, 1991, research project on Medieval and early Renaissance collection; developed an educational guide for the docents

February, 1992, Redmond Arts Commission lecture, an introduction to art history, sponsored by the State Arts Commission.

Chairperson, Board of Directors, Exhibit Touring Services, 1986-87, Washington State.

Commissioner, Wenatchee City Arts Commission, 1986 and 1987, acting as advisor to the city concerning artistic and cultural matters and as an advocate for local artists.

Guest lecturer, Wenatchee Valley College, 1981.

Guest Lecturer, North Central Washington Museum, 1980.

Institute of Fine Arts Fellowship, New York University, 1972-73.

Arts and Architecture Department Scholarship, The Pennsylvania State University, 1971-72.

Pennsylvania State University Scholarship, 1971-72.

Arts Administration Positions:

Assistant Director, Exhibit Touring Services of Washington State, Olympia, Washington; 1987 to 1989. Administered a state-wide exhibition touring program serving museums, college and university art departments and libraries. Acting as both program manager and curator, developed, researched, and toured multi-cultural art and historical exhibits throughout Washington, Montana, Alaska and Oregon.

Coordinator, Gallery '76, Wenatchee Valley College, Wenatchee, Washington; 1983 to 1987. Administered and curated nine annual art exhibitions and presented cultural programming for the community. Acted as a community arts specialist and liaison with the statewide cultural arts community.

Administrative Assistant to the Grantswriter, Cornish Institute of the Arts, Seattle, 1982-1983.

Coordinator, Allied Arts Council of North Central Washington, Wenatchee, Washington, 1978 to 1981. Administered a three-county arts council which presented performing, literary, visual arts and centralized services to 33 member arts organizations.